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A HISTORY
OF
THE IRISH SETTLERS
IN
AMERICA,
FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD.

BY
THOMAS D'ARCY McGEE.

"Westward the star of empire takes its way;
The three first acts already past,
The fourth shall close it, with the closing day;
Earth's noblest empire is the last."

BISHOP BERKELEY, A. D. 1730.

Iriclyte, gens hominum, milite, pace, fide.

ST. DONATUS of Fiesole.

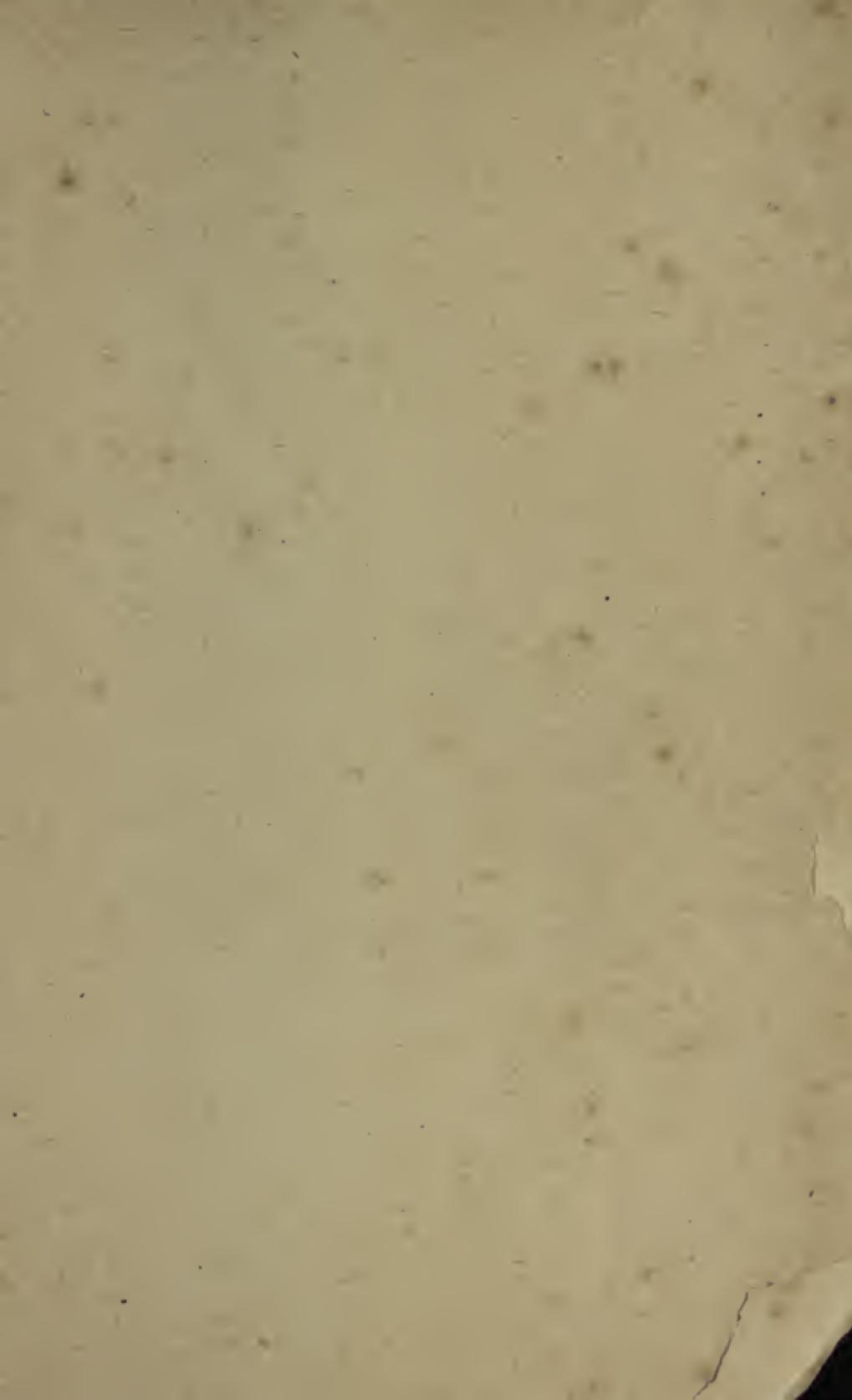
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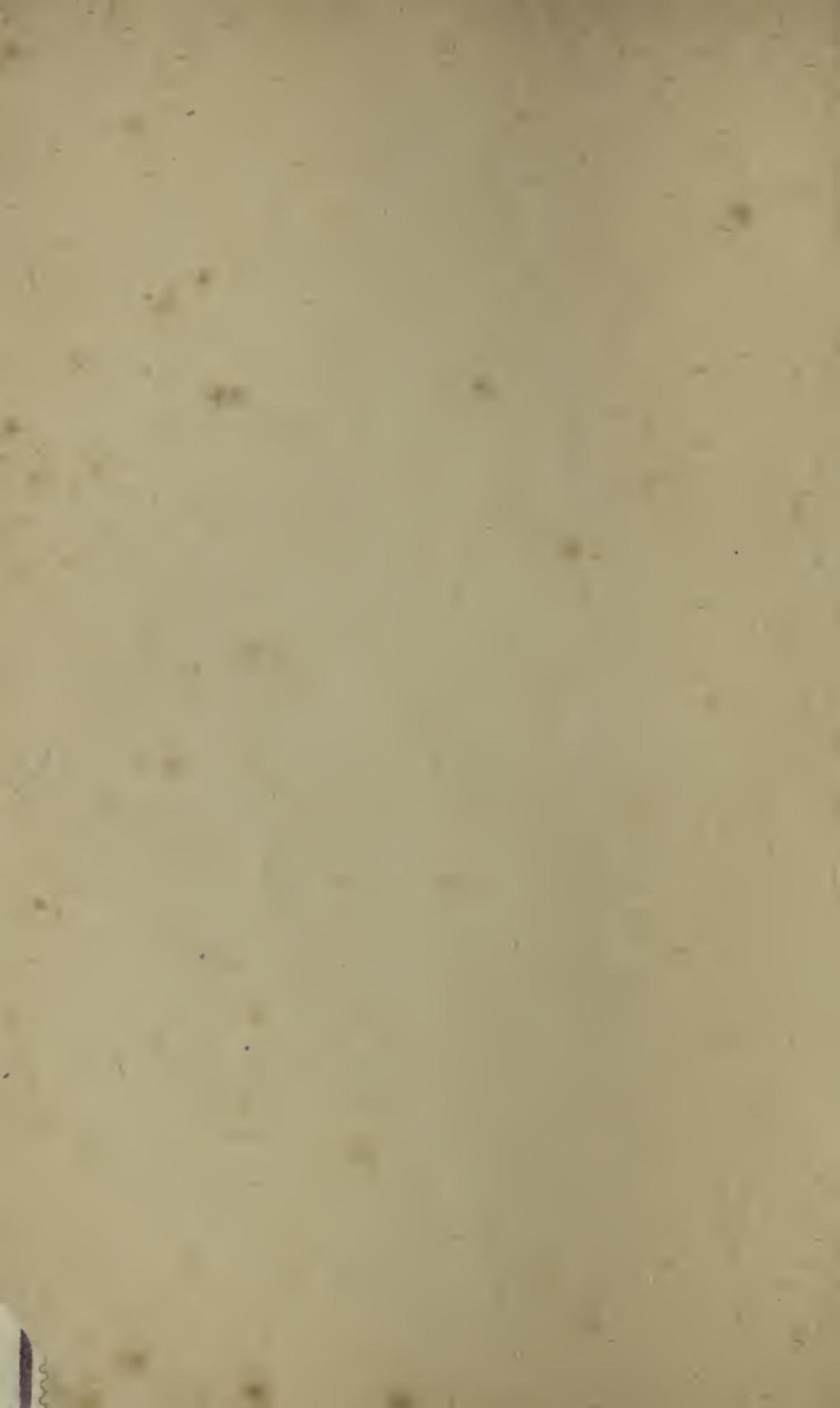
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1800-1801

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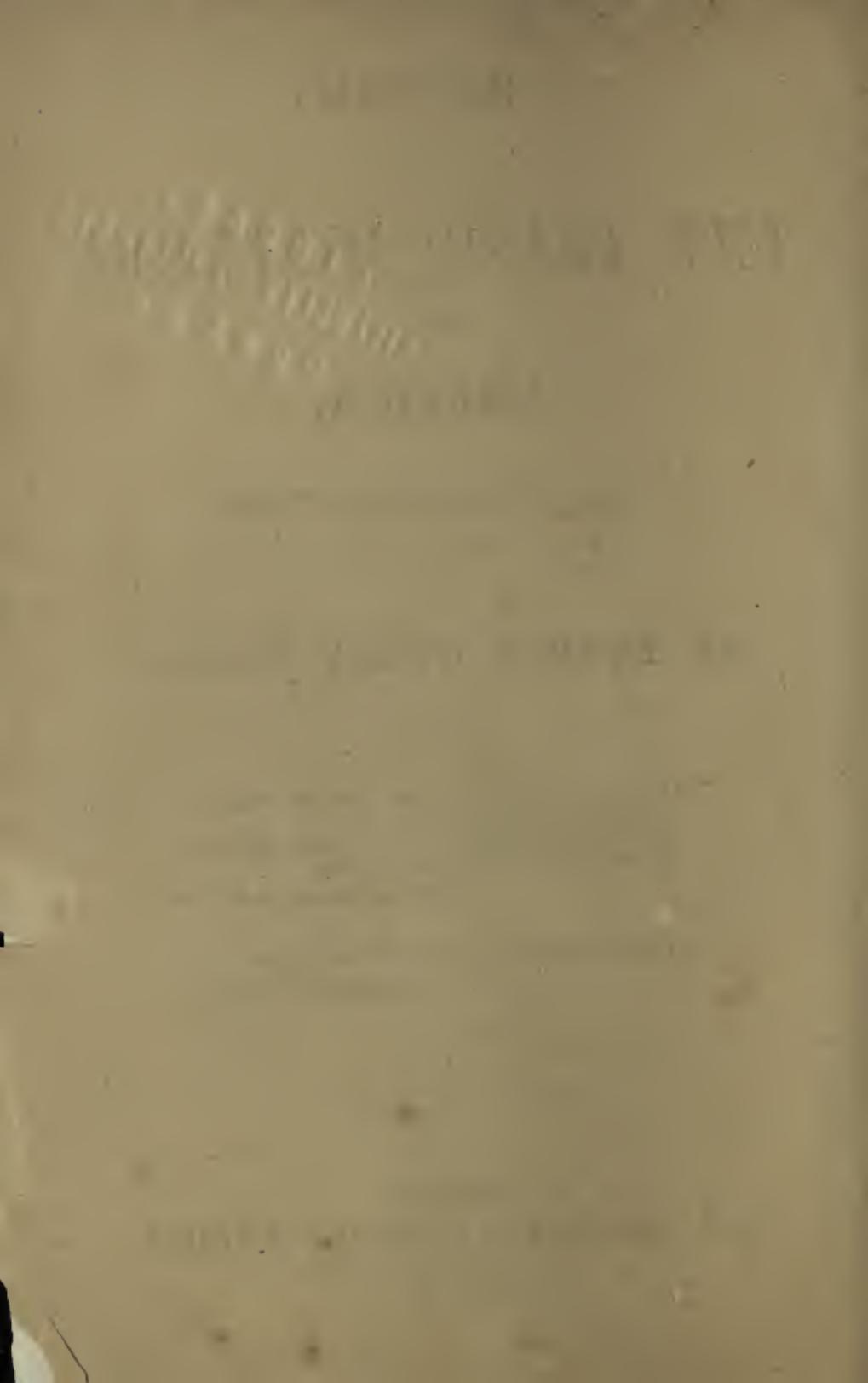
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1870.



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INTRODUCTION.

EUROPE AND AMERICA.

THE fifteenth century in Spain (the point from which the discovery of America emanated) was marked by the cessation of the Crusades, by treaties made between the Moors and Christians of Spain and France, the Porte and Venice, of amity and commerce. Asiatic arts and luxury, Asiatic idols, and Asiatic valour, had made deep and sensible impressions upon Christendom. The schools of Cordova, the chivalry of Grenada, the galleys of Fez, the grandeur of the Soldan exercised a moral despotism throughout Europe. What Russian power and Russian pretensions are to Europe to-day, the Ottoman empire was to the Christian Europe of Columbus's youth.

The exact sciences were, as yet, in a rude and chaotic state. Astrology, alchemy, and both magics had professors and postulants. Medicine was little better than herbal traditions, or a litany of incantations. Amulets blest by conjurers were worn, and the stars believed in by the highest intellects. It was then—when star-gazers advised kings to peace or war, when brazen heads were fabricated by Albertus Magnus and Friar Bacon, when Aldrovandus had to dissect his own child, fearing to touch another human body—with fatalism enthroned in Asia, and credulity in Europe—

it was then that Columbus turned his piercing vision towards the West.

Domestic slavery existed very generally through Europe. The lords of the soil exacted the services, lives, and the very honour of their serfs. The serf was chained to his district and predestined to his profession. There was no freedom of will or mind among the populace. A few trading towns had, indeed, wrung chartered privileges from their sovereigns, but these privileges were confined to the class of master workmen, who held in servitude the great body of the citizens and apprentices.

Chivalry had lost its charm and was obsolete. The age of commerce, which was felt to be approaching, was looked for exclusively in the East; so that, even in the knowledge of its own wants, Europe was in error.

Two great facts of this century precede Columbus, and only two. The science of government was being studied carefully in Italy, France, and Spain, and the science of reasoning in the great colleges since called Universities. The fall of Constantinople, in 1453, sent the learned of the East for refuge into Italy, and new classic schools began to assume a regular existence at Rome and Florence, Bologna and Ferrara.

While these mental possessions were beginning to accumulate in Europe, in the wisdom of Providence a New World was about to become a sharer in their diffusion.

Let us be just to the European thinkers of those days. With much that seems absurd in tho-

"schoolmen," and much that was ephemeral, there is combined the vital principle of all human history—does man, under God, suffice for himself? Can he justify his own intellect? Can he self-govern his own life? This was their great problem through all their studies. Doubtless, they did not know whither their own theories ultimately led; doubtless they, too, attempted to set limits to faith and to science. But with all that can be said against them, there they stand—the ferrymen plying between ancient and modern civilization, bringing over to us the most precious products of distant times, and teaching us how to start in our new career.

The long and painful preparatory efforts of Columbus to interest the old world in his project would seem almost to be permitted, in order to prove the inefficiency of the age he was to electrify on his return from the first voyage.

He besought Genoa and Venice for a ship or two to find his world, and they refused him; he petitioned the wise kings of Portugal and England, and they refused to risk a single sail in such a quest; he sojourned long about the courts of France and Spain, appealing to the wisdom of the wise, the judgment of the learned, the ambition of the brave, and the avarice of the acquisitive. But he argued, appealed, petitioned in vain! No one believed in his theory, or hoped in his adventure. Nay, the wise smiled scornfully, the learned laughed in their academic sleeves, and even the brave had no stomach for battling the tempest, or for planting their banners in the wide sea-field.

Besides, was he not a common sailor ? He had, indeed, commanded some merchant ships, and had an uncle an admiral. His name, some said, was noble ; but of this there was no proof. The age that believed in the divine right of the blood royal, and the sovereign inheritance of the blood noble, could not conceive of a mere sailor achieving a conquest which princes and grandees could not so much as imagine, after all his arguments.

Where, then, did Columbus and his theory find believers ? Who were his first converts and first assistants ? A woman, a sailor, and a monk are the three by whom the curtain of the Atlantic is raised, and America pointed out afar off. Before the dense curtain of that grandest scene of all human history they stand—the woman, the sailor, and the monk. Columbus converted the prior of La Rabida, the prior converted the queen of Castile, and so the armament did sail, after all, in quest of the New World in the West.

That is a noble group, and deserves long contemplation. The woman personifies gentleness ; the monk, faith ; the sailor, courage. Faith, gentleness, and courage are thus confederated to find the New World, and claim it for their own !

Columbus sailed, and, except by a very few, was soon forgotten. The prior may have prayed for him ; the queen may have sometimes asked news of him ; Paulo Toscanelli, the map-maker, in his Florentine study, may have cast his eye over the conjectural track of the two Spanish carvels, to the ideal shore of St. Brendan's land ;

but great, gross Europe sleeps, eats, and drinks, just as if no apostle of the Future was labouring through the shoreless ocean. The capture of Grenada, with its half million Moors, no doubt, seemed to all the wise heads of Europe incomparably the greatest act that century could see. The Genoese sailor and his New World are hidden for the time by that cloud of turbans, with its pale disastrous crescent still visible, though eclipsed.

What a month that must have been in Europe, when Columbus returned with his plants and minerals, and his men red and naked as the sun ! The telegraph of rumour proclaimed his success from Lisbon to Madrid, and from Madrid to Rome, Venice, Antwerp, Paris, and London. What wild tales are told and swallowed—what a crying curiosity thrusts out its ears from every corner of Europe—what sudden new light breaks in on the learned—what passion for ocean adventure seizes on the brave—what visions of mountains of gold and valleys of diamonds drive away sleep from the couches of the avaricious !

In this age of inferior “excitements,” we can hardly imagine what Europe felt in that day ; though, if the “sensation” can be imagined anywhere, it is here. It must have been something incomparably more intense than the “California fever.” “A New World found !” was the trumpet-blast which rung from end to end of Europe. Europe, that yesterday considered the fall of Grenada the greatest of facts, has already almost forgotten Grenada ! Europe, that began to smile at the crusade, grasps again the banner of the

Cross, to plant it, not on St. Sophias or Mount Calvary, but to plant it on the further verge of the ocean, bordered with illimitable lands ! Europe, in the hour of Columbus's arrival, attained her majority, began to act and think for herself, and, ceasing to be a child, to cast away the things of her childhood.

On the authentication and details of the discovery there is no need to pause. On the names of the new chivalry of the ocean we need not linger. Cabot, Cartier, Americus, Verazzini, Hudson, Raleigh, Drake, Balboa, Cortez, Pizarro, America knows them all. They developed the idea of the great sailor. They found the western way to India. They demonstrated the rotundity of the earth. They are the true experimental philosophers to whom Bacon, Descartes, Linnæus, and Gassendi were but the amanuenses. They will be for ever honoured among men—the graduates of the universe—the alumni of the ocean !

When Columbus, ill-requited by Spain, and weary of life, felt his end approach, he desired, as his last request, that it might be engraven on his tomb, "*Here lieth Christopher Columbus, who gave to Castile and Arragon a New World.*" If this was meant as a reproach to Ferdinand, it was a magnificent reproach. If it was meant as a lasting definition of his own act, it is miserably deficient. What he actually did is, indeed, insignificant compared to what he was the cause of being done ; but even from his death-bed, that clear-sighted man must have foreseen that not to Ferdinand and Isabella was his New World given—not to

Spain, nor even to Europe ; but rather that it was given to all humanity for the remainder of time to come.

Three hundred years and more have passed over the grave of Columbus. In his cathedral tomb at Havana, he sleeps within the circle of the greatest exploit of modern men—the civilisation of America—which he most heroically began. All the races of Europe have contributed workmen to the work, who, amid much “confusion of tongues,” are rearing it heavenward day by day in hope and harmony, and, let us trust, with all due reverence and humility of spirit.

Columbus has been justified. So has Spain. The shares of France, England, Holland, Sweden, and Germany in civilizing America have been all recorded in the works of sympathetic and laborious historians.

And now, also, Ireland advances her claim to respect and remembrance as a contributor to this world’s work. She also has helped to reclaim the land from barrenness, and to liberate it from oppression. Her sons have made many a clearing, found many a ford, worked out many a noble plan, fighting stoutly for their new country, on land and sea, when so required. Ireland—which has furnished actors to every great act of civilisation since Dathi died at Sales, following in the track of Brennus and Alaric—was also, as we shall see, represented here from the beginning by able and useful men. It is of these Irish settlers in America this book is written, and while looking over its brief chapters I cannot suppress a sigh

that much greater books have been written of men who did not deserve the honour one-half so well.

The following pages, dear reader, were filled up after many interruptions and under many distractions ; therefore, have mercy in your judgment of the work. I venture it into print with the hope that the whole subject may come, ere long, under the hands of a master, who can make of it a story both Europe and America would love to listen to.

Boston, St. Patrick's Day, 1851.

A HISTORY
OF
THE IRISH SETTLERS
IN NORTH AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

THE LEGEND OF “GREAT IRELAND” AND OF ST.
BRANDAN — NORWEGIAN ACCOUNT — IRISH AC-
COUNT — ITALIAN AND SPANISH ACCOUNTS.

It is uncertain whether Christopher Columbus was the first European who saw America. A general tradition of its existence was widely received before his birth, and we cannot reject, as entirely incredible, the repeated allusions to this tradition contained in the early chronicles of the northern nations of the old world. To the Genoese belongs the glory of disenchanting the ocean—of bringing two hemispheres into contact separated from the beginning—of leaving a land of refuge accessible to humanity, and of opening the history of its population by one of the most glorious examples of patience, fortitude, and courage ever exhibited by man. Who could wish his glory greater or less?

The Scandinavians count three several precursors of Columbus—Ari Marson, whose voyage took place in 983; Biorn, a later adventurer;

and Gudlief, son of Gudlang, who towards the middle of the 11th century followed the track of, and conversed with, Biorn, in Huitramannaland, or *Irland it Mikla*, beyond the Atlantic. The account of Ari in the Landnamabock is short, but perfectly intelligible. It says:

“Ulf the Squinter, son of Hogni the White, occupied the whole of *Reykianess* (south-west promontory of Iceland), between Thorskafjord and Hafrafell. He had a wife named Biorg, the daughter of Eyvind the East-countryman. They had a son named Atili the Red, who married Thorkotu, daughter of Hergil. They had a son named Ari, who was driven by a tempest to Huitramannaland (white man's land), which some call *Irland it Mikla* (Great Ireland), which lies in the western ocean, near to *Vinland the Good*, west from *Ireland*,” by a number of days' sail which is uncertain, some error having crept into the original in these figures. “Ari was not permitted to depart, but was baptized there.”

Of the second and third voyages the same Landnamabock (compiled in the 13th century) relates:

“So Rafn, the Limerick merchant, first stated, who lived for a long time in Limerick, in Ireland.” Rafn was kinsman to Ari Marson, and lived at the beginning or middle of the eleventh century. “So also Thorkel, the son of Geller (grandson of Ari Marson), says that certain Icelanders stated, who heard Thorfinn, Jarl of the Orkneys”—also kinsman to Ari Marson, and born 1008, died 1064—“relate that Ari had been seen and known in Huitramannaland, and that, although

not suffered to depart thence, he was there held in great honour.

"Ari had a wife named Thorgerd, daughter of Alf of Dolum. Their sons were Thorgils, Gudlief, and Illugi ; which is the family of Reykianess." Then follows a passage which shows that Eirck the Red was connected with the family of this Ari Marson, and which it may not be amiss to repeat, as all these historical allusions afford corroboration of the authencity of different narratives.

"Jorund was the son of Ulf the Squinter. He married Thobiorg Knarrarbring. They had a daughter, Thjodhild, whom Eirck the Red married. They had a son, Leif the Lucky, of Greenland." It is worthy of remark that the writer of this account was Ari the Learned, born 1067, who flourished at the end of the eleventh century, and who therefore lived within a century after Ari Marson's departure from Ireland. He was immediately descended from Ari Marson, and would of course be anxious and careful to obtain the most accurate accounts of his ancestors. It is to be observed the situation of Huitramannaland is here stated, "in the western ocean near Vinland, and west of Ireland." It points, of necessity, to that portion of the country now known as the midland or southern States of the Union.*

The *Irland it Mikla*, or Great Ireland, is frequently alluded to in the Northern Sagas. They describe the route towards it from the north of Europe thus :

* Smith's "Northmen in New England." Boston.
Hilliard & Grey, 1839.

"To the south of habitable Greenland there are uninhabited and wild tracts, and enormous icebergs. The country of the Skraelings lies beyond these; Markland beyond this, and Vinland the Good beyond the last. Next to this, and something beyond it, lies Albania—that is, Huitramannaland, whither formerly vessels came from Ireland. There several *Irishmen* and *Icelanders* saw and recognized Ari, the son of Mar and Kotlu, of Reykianess, concerning whom nothing had been heard for a long time, and who had been made their chief by the inhabitants of the land."

In this vague sketch modern antiquarians have laboured hard, and not unsuccessfully, to identify the country of the Skraelings as the Esquimaux coast, Markland as Labrador, Vinland as New England, and Huitramannaland as the country "further southward, beyond the Chesapeake Bay."*

"The Skraelinger," says Humboldt, "related to the Northmen settled in Vinland, that further southward, beyond the Chesapeake Bay, there dwelt 'white men, who clothed themselves in long white garments, carried before them poles to which clothes were attached, and called with a loud voice.' This account was interpreted by the Christian Northmen to indicate processions in which banners were borne accompanied by singing. In the oldest Sagas, the historical narrations of Thorfinn Karlsefne, and the Icelandic Landnammabock, these southern coasts, lying between Virginia and Florida, are designated

* Humboldt's "Cosmos."

under the name of the *Land of the White Men*. They are expressly called Great Ireland (*Irland it Mikla*), and it is maintained that they were peopled by the Irish. According to testimonies which extend to 1064, before Lief discovered Vinland, and probably about the year 982, Ari Marson, of the powerful Icelandic race of Ulf the Squint-eyed, was driven in a voyage from Iceland to the south by storms, on the coast of the Land of the White Men, and there baptized in the Christian faith ; and not being allowed to depart, was recognized by men from the Orkney Islands and Iceland."*

The volumes in which these corroborative accounts are recorded were compiled in the north three centuries before the birth of Columbus, and evidently represent the then prevailing belief in a "Great Ireland" beyond the western sea.

The Irish Annals themselves make special mention of the same fact. They credit the first voyage westward to St. Brandan, patron of Clonfert and Ardfert, on the south-west coast. It is recorded that he flourished from the year A.D. 550 till the beginning of the following century, and that his voyages in search of the promised land were two, after which he returned no more. The precise point of departure, "the foot of Brandan Mountain," now Tralee Bay, is stated ; his sea store consisted of live swine, his companions of monks, and his first voyage, of course, abounded in adventures. The dates in these legends are well fixed, whatever else may be dubious ; and we do not feel at liberty to reject facts which an

* Humboldt's "Cosmos," vol. i.

Usher and a Humboldt long pondered over, and at last set down with reverence.*

The voyages of St. Brandan were received traditions in France, the Netherlands, Spain, and Italy, soon after the Northern Chroniclers had written their memoranda concerning *Irland it Mikla*. Old metrical romances in the French and Dutch languages give a world of details about them—some credible, and some absurd enough.† But what is more to our purpose, Jacobus Voraignius, Provincial of the Dominicans and Bishop of Genoa (the native city of Columbus), gave St. Brandan's land special prominence in the 13th century, in his "Golden Legend,"‡ and the Italian geographers set it down on their conjectural charts opposite "Europe and Africa, from the south of Ireland to the end of Guinea." In the map made for Columbus, previous to setting out on his first voyage, by Paulo Toscanelli of Florence, the customary space was occupied by "St. Borondon's, or St. Brandan's land."

In the letters of Columbus to his sovereigns, it is notable that the "singing of the birds," and "the greenness of the vegetation," so much dwelt on in the "Golden Legend," are frequently mentioned. The phrase "Promised Land" also occurs in the mystical sense in which it is employed by Bishop Jacobus.

* Usher's *Antiq. of British Churches*; Usher's *Epistles of the Irish Saints*.

† See extracts of these old Poems in Longfellow's "Poets and Poetry of Europe."

‡ Voraignius died A.D. 1298.

Even after the voyage of Columbus, so strong was the belief in St. Brandan's land, that various expeditions were sent to explore it, as appears from depositions taken before the Grand Inquisitor of the Canaries, Pedro Ortez de Funez, and from other Portuguese and Spanish accounts. The last of these voyages was undertaken as late as 1721, by "Don Gaspar Dominguez, a man of probity and talent. As this was an expedition of solemn and mysterious import, he had two holy friars as apostolical chaplains. They made sail from the island of Teneriffe toward the end of October, leaving the populace in an indescribable state of anxious curiosity. The ship, however, returned from its cruise as unsuccessful as all its predecessors."*

Although these reports were not justified by the facts, yet it would be unwise to confound the early belief with the modern illusion, since the latter did not and could not beget the former, though they have obscured and almost hidden it from our sight.

There is quite sufficient reason to infer that the ancients believed in the existence of a Great Ireland in the West before Columbus's discovery; and assuredly, if they were mistaken, we are in a fair way to see the doubtful vision of their days become a reality. The dates and details we must leave to the antiquarians, while we endeavour to show what modern emigration has done to accomplish the legend of *Irland it Mikla*.

* Nunez, *Conquist. de la Gran Canaria*; Viera, *Hist. Isl. Can.*; Irving's Life of Columbus, vol. i.

CHAPTER II.

THE FIRST IRISH EMIGRANTS IN BARBADOES, IN PENNSYLVANIA, IN NEW YORK, IN MARYLAND, IN VIRGINIA, IN THE CAROLINAS, IN KENTUCKY.—ADVENTURE OF SIMON BUTLER IN DELAWARE.

THE half century after the voyage of Columbus was spent in exploring the harbours, rivers, and coasts of the “New World.” Colonization followed, the Spanish nation still leading. In 1565 the Spaniards founded St. Augustine, in Florida ; in 1562 the French had built a fort in Carolina, and in 1608 they founded Quebec ; in 1585 Raleigh settled 180 emigrants at Roanoke ; in 1606 Jamestown was begun ; in 1629 Plymouth, and in 1634 Baltimore. These are the first authentic dates of the early North American settlements.

The first Irish people who found permanent homes in America were certain Catholic patriots, banished by Oliver Cromwell to Barbadoes in 1649. After the failure of the confederation formed in that year, 45,000 Irishmen were transported beyond the seas, some to France and Spain, and several ship-loads to Barbadoes. In this island, as in the neighbouring Montserrat, the Celtic language was commonly spoken in the last century, and, perhaps, it is partly attributable to this early Irish colonization that Barbadoes became “one of the most populous islands in the world.” At the end of the seventeenth century

it was reported to contain 20,000 white inhabitants.

During the last quarter of the seventeenth century there does not appear to have been any considerable emigration from Ireland. After the Restoration of Charles II., in 1660, the influence of the Duke of Ormond procured letters patent suspending the Navigation Laws, so as to allow Ireland comparative freedom of trade. From this manufactures flourished, and there was no "surplus population" left. The French refugees, who fled from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in the year 1685, contributed their manufacturing skill still further to enrich the country, which certainly enjoyed, in the interval from the Restoration to the Revolution, most unusual prosperity.

The revolution of 1688 marks a new and less prosperous era for the mother country. William and Mary, in the first year of their reign, were called by both houses of parliament to discourage the manufactures of Ireland which competed with those of England, which they complacently consented to do. By this invidious policy, according to Lord Fitzwilliam, "100,000 operatives" were driven out of Ireland. "Many of the Protestants," says an historian of Irish trade, "removed into Germany"—"several Papists at the same time removed into Spain." Another contemporaneous writer speaks of multitudes having gone to America from Ireland "in consequence of the rack rents there." A contemporary account estimates that 3,000 males left Ulster yearly for the

colonies.* And we hear at intervals, amid the confusion of this panic flight, the stern accents of Swift, upbraiding the people with their submission, and reproaching the aristocracy with their suicidal impolicy in cultivating cattle and banishing men.

In the colony of Pennsylvania one of the earliest settlements of Irishmen was made. In 1699 James Logan, of Lurgan, and others, accompanied William Penn to his new plantation, and were most heartily welcomed. Logan became one of the most considerable men in the colony, which he governed for two years after the death of Penn, and whose capital he enriched by bequeathing to it the most considerable library hitherto opened to its inhabitants. He was, for that age, a most tolerant man—even more so than his Quaker friend, Penn, who writes him from London, in 1708 : “There is a complaint against your government that you suffer public Mass in a scandalous manner. Pray send the matter of fact, for ill use is made of it against us here.”† This charge reflects honour now where it shed suspicion then. The name of Logan is honourably identified with the city in which he exercised his beneficent authority.

Attracted by this precedent, others followed the emigrants of 1699, chiefly from the North of Ireland. In the interior of the State we find townships called Derry, Donegal, Tyrone, and Coleraine, so early as 1730. The arrivals at the port

* Dobb's on “Irish Trade,” Dublin, 1729.

† Watson's Annals of Philadelphia, p. 290.

of Philadelphia for the year ending December, 1729, are set down as

English and Welsh	...	...	267
Scotch	...	...	43
Palatines (Germans)	...	...	343
Irish	...	...	5,655*

Or a proportion of ten Irish emigrants to one from all other nations in Europe. And this constant influx, though not in so great disproportion to other arrivals, recurred annually at the same port till the close of the century.

In 1729, several families from Longford took shipping at Dublin, with a Captain Rymer, for Pennsylvania. He appears to have been one of those brutal mariners still to be met with in the emigrant trade. Although they made the coast of Virginia, and saw land for several days, he would not land them until he had extorted an extra payment; and his officers were in such awe of him, they dare not remonstrate. At length he landed them at Cape Cod, whence some of them moved to the banks of the Hudson. Of these was Charles Clinton, who had then three children of Irish birth, destined to become historical men in the annals of New York.†

The colony of Maryland, founded by Roman Catholics, held out special attractions to the first emigrants of that denomination. The Irish rising of 1641, it is thought, "affected the population of the province."‡ The Carrolls emigrated to the

* Holmes' Annals of América, vol. i.

† Hoozack's Life of De Witt Clinton.

‡ Bozman's Maryland, vol. i.

colony about 1689, and were, in common with the other Catholic settlers, disfranchised by the Protestant Revolution of 1688. Thus, by a singular reverse, the descendants of those who were the first to proclaim complete freedom of conscience in the New World, were for near 100 years deprived of it by the children of the fugitives to whom they had first afforded the protection elsewhere denied them.

The Irish population in Virginia began about the year 1710, and chiefly settled along the Blue Ridge, in what are now the counties of Patrick and Rockbridge. The M'Dowells, Breckenridges, M'Duffys, M'Gruders, and others, were of this colony, and the two rivers Mayo, as well as the localities called M'Gaheysville, Healys, Kennedys, M'Farlands, Lynchburg, and Kinsale, are evidently of Irish origin.

In 1737 a considerable Irish colony obtained a township on the Santee river, in South Carolina, in the district called, from its Indian proprietors, the Waxhaws. Williamsburg, on the Black river, was entirely peopled by our race in 1734, as was Camden on the Wateree. "Of all other countries," says the historian of that State, "none has furnished the province with so many inhabitants as Ireland. Scarce a ship sailed from any of its ports for Charleston, that was not crowded with men, women, and children." One of our settlements in that colony was peculiarly unfortunate. "The Council having announced, in England and Ireland, that the land of the ejected Yemasseees would be given to the actual settlers, 500 persons from Ire-

land transported themselves to South Carolina, to take the benefit of it. But the whole project was frustrated by the proprietors, who claimed those lands as their property, and insisted on the right of disposing of them as they saw fit. Not long afterwards, to the utter ruin of the Irish emigrants; and in breach of the provincial faith, these Indian lands were surveyed, by order of the proprietors, for their own use, and laid out in large baronies." "Many of the unfortunate Irish emigrants," adds the historian, "having spent the little money they brought with them, were reduced to misery and famished. The remainder removed to the northern colonies."* Among the Irish settlers in the Waxhaws we notice the now famous names, Rutledge, Jackson, and Calhoun.

After the Williamite war in Ireland, several emigrant Irish families arrived in North Carolina, and settled there. Of these the most active and distinguished was Governor James Moore, who headed the rebellion of 1705, which converted the province from a proprietary to a popular government, elective from the people. He held out against all the force and power of the proprietors, and was the first people's Governor of Carolina. He transmitted his spirit and his influence to a succession of eminent descendants. He claimed relationship to the Drogheda family of the same name, and probably was a native of that vicinity.

In 1746 the settlement of Kentucky was commenced under the intrepid Daniel Boone, by whose side, also, we find Irishmen. The historian of

* Ramsay's *South Carolina*.

Kentucky observes, "For enterprise and daring courage none transcended Major Hugh M'Grady.* A Harland, a M'Bride, and a Chaplain deserve also to be mentioned." The second Kentucky settlement was formed in 1773 by James and Robert M'Afee, and the third in 1775 by Benjamin Logan, an Irish Pennsylvanian. Simon Butler, M'Lellan, and Hogan, all Irishmen, were also pioneers of Kentucky, and among the first to explore the country beyond the Ohio.† The same hardy race of backwoodsmen also sent out the first successful pioneers of population on the greater current of the Mississippi, to mark along its banks the sites of future settlements. As a specimen of what the Irish pioneer then endured, we give the following stirring episode in the early history of Kentucky :

"Simon Kenton, *alias* Butler, who has been heretofore noticed, now claims further attention, as connected with the occurrences of this year. His active and enterprising spirit had induced him to join Colonel George Rogers Clark, and he was with him at the capture of Kaskaskias. After the fall of that place, Butler, with others, was sent to

* In Ireland there was a famous family of this name near Mayo, whose decay an Irish bard of the Jacobite era pathetically laments :

"'Tis my grief that Patrick Loughlin is not
Earl in Erris still;
That Brian Duff no longer rules as
Lord upon the hill:
That *Colonel Hugh M'Grady* should
Be lying stark and low—
And I sailing, sailing swiftly
From the County of Mayo."

M'Carthy's "Book of Irish Ballads."

† Marshall's Hist. of Kentucky, chap. iii. vol. i.

Kentucky with despatches. On their way they fell in with a camp of Indians with horses. They broke up the camp, took the horses, sent them back to Kaskaskias, and pursued their route by post to St. Vincennes. Entering that place by night, they traversed several streets, and departed without discovery or alarm, after taking from the inhabitants, who were hostile, two horses for each man. When they came to White river, a raft was made on which to transport the guns and baggage, while the horses were driven in to swim across the river. On the opposite shore there lay a camp of Indians, who caught the horses as they rose the bank.

"Butler and his party, now finding themselves in the utmost danger, permitted the raft to float down the stream, and concealed themselves till night; when they made another raft, at a different place, on which they crossed the river, returned safe to Kentucky, and delivered the letters, as they had been directed. Some of them were intended for the seat of government.

"This part of his duty being discharged, Butler made a tour to the northern part of the country, and in the same year was made prisoner by the Indians. They soon after painted him black, and informed him that at Chillicothe, where they were going, he should be burned. Nor were they willing to permit him to pass the interim without adding to his mental pains those of the body. Not more to torture him than to amuse themselves, they mounted him on an unbroke and unbridled horse; tied his hands behind his body, and his

feet under the animal ; and then let him loose to run through the bushes.

" This he did, capering and prancing through the worst thickets, thereby to discharge his load, but in vain. There is no means of checking the horse, or of guarding the body, or face, or eyes from the brush. This rends the clothes, and almost tears the flesh from the bones—to the very great amusement of the savages, and to the equal danger of the rider's life.

" The horse at length worries himself, becomes gentle, and rejoins the cavalcade, which now approaches within a mile of Chillicothe. The Indians halt, dismount their prisoner, and prepare the stake. At this they kept him tied and standing for nearly twenty-four hours, with what sensations can better be imagined than expressed. From the stake, however, he was not released by fire, but taken by the Indians to run the gauntlet. At this place there were assembled 500 or 600 Indians, of all ages, sexes, and conditions. These were armed with switches, sticks, and every kind of hand-weapon known to savages, and formed into rows, reaching to the council-house, distant nearly one mile. Butler was now told that he was to run between those files to the drum, which was beaten at the council-house door ; and that if he could get into the council-house, he should be cleared, but that he was to expect a blow from each Indian as he passed. Next, he was placed between these ranks, and put into motion by an order and a blow. In a little time he broke through one of the files before he received many blows,

and continued running for the council-house door, which he had nearly gained, when he was knocked down by a warrior with a club. Here he was severely beaten, and again taken into custody.

“ In this distressed and miserable condition, when life had become burthensome, and death would have been relief, was he marched from town to town, often threatened to be burned at the stake, and frequently compelled to run the gauntlet.

“ On one of these occasions he broke the rank, determined at the risk of his life to make his escape ; and had actually gained a considerable advantage of his foot pursuers, when he was met by some Indians coming to town on horseback, and compelled to surrender,

“ At thirteen towns he ran the gauntlet, and was certainly to have been burned at the Lower Sandusky ; but an accident suspends his progress, and seems to change his destiny.

“ At the Upper Sandusky resided Simon Girty, who had just returned from an unsuccessful expedition against the frontiers of Pennsylvania, and in very bad humour. Hearing that there was a white prisoner in town, he sought him, fell upon him, threw him on the ground, and to colour his violence accused him of stealing the Indians’ horses. Butler, recognizing Girty, made himself known. They had been comrades and friends. Girty is astonished to find him in such a situation ; relents, raises him from the ground, offers him his hand, promises to save him from further injury, and to obtain his release from captivity.

“ The horrors of his mind now yielded to the

cheering prospects of hope and better fortune; and the little life which yet languished in his bruised and emaciated body became an object of his solicitude.

" A council was called, the case stated, and Girty's influence obtained a decree of liberation in his favour. Girty now took him to his house, bestowed on him the rites of hospitality, washed his wounds, and dressed him in a new suit of clothes.

" For five days he was at liberty, and felt himself recovering both strength and spirits. But such is the instability of a disorganised democracy, and the spirit of ferocity in uncivilized man, that the chiefs of several neighbouring towns, hearing that the white prisoner was set free, now became dissatisfied, and repairing to Sandusky, demanded another council. This was accordingly held, and the former decree in favour of Butler, notwithstanding all Girty's exertions, promptly reversed. He is once more reduced to the condition of a prisoner, and his former sentence of death renewed against him. Girty was now compelled to give him up, and he was marched away to Lower Sandusky, to be burned. At this place he met with Peter Drewyear, Indian agent from Detroit. Drewyear, from motives of humanity, interceded with the council, and obtained permission to take Butler with him on his return home. At Detroit he was given up to the British governor, and paroled, with orders to appear at nine o'clock each day, when the drum beat for parade.

" This partial freedom was solaced with joy by

meeting with Jesse Coffer, Nathaniel Bullock, and others, from Kentucky, who had been taken prisoners by the Indians, and found safety for their lives at a British garrison.

"In some short time, Butler and the men just named found means of escape, and, in 1779, returned to Kentucky, after a march of thirty days through the woods."*

Romance has nothing equal to this simple story. It wants nothing of the grandeur of "Mazeppa" but the Polish foreground, which encloses so well that kindred legend of the wilderness.

The State of Delaware, originally disputed between certain Connecticut settlers and Pennsylvania, became, shortly before the Revolution, the home of several Irish families. In the contests of the two parties of settlers, Colonel Plunkett, an Irishman, commanded what is called "the Pennyite" force, and Colonel Zebulon Butler "the Yankees." Among those who fell in this contest, special mention is made of "Thomas Neill, an Irishman of middle age, and the most learned man in the valley." He joined the Yankees because, as he said, "they were the weakest side." His captain, M'Karrachan, killed in the Wyoming massacre, was also an Irishman. He emigrated from Belfast in 1764, and was a magistrate of Westmoreland county before the war. It was a strange chance, in that memorable massacre, that the British commander was Colonel John Butler, a remote relative of the American defender, Colonel Zebulon Butler. If the Indian

* Marshall's Kentucky, vol. i.

slaughter at that siege has aspersed with blood the name of the one, it has covered with glory that of the other.*

This family of Butler, destined to give so many distinguished names to America, originated in Kilkenny. The founder of the Pennsylvanian house of that name emigrated, as Agent for Indian Affairs, towards the close of the seventeenth century. Attracted probably by his example or advice, other cadets of the Ormond stock had settled in Carolina and Kentucky, from whom many generals and senators have been furnished to the Union.†

* The historian of Wyoming tells a pleasant anecdote of an Irish settler—"an old man named Fitzgerald. The Indians and their allies placed him on a flax-brake, and told him he must renounce his rebel principles and declare for the king, or die. 'Well,' said the stout-hearted old fellow, 'I am old, and have little time to live any how; and I had rather die now a friend of my country, than live ever so long, and die a Tory.' They had magnanimity enough to let him go."—*Miner's History of Wyoming*, p. 200.

† The present General William O. Butler, of Kentucky, and Pierce Butler, Senator for South Carolina, are of this family.

CHAPTER III.

THE IRISH IN MASSACHUSETTS—IN NEW HAMPSHIRE—IN MAINE—BISHOP BERKELEY IN RHODE ISLAND—HIS GIFT TO YALE COLLEGE.

In the colony of Massachusetts Bay, prejudices against natives of Ireland existed from the beginning. At a meeting held in 1725, at Haverhill, for settling the town of Concord, it was resolved “that no alienation of any lot should be made without the consent of the community.” “The object of this regulation,” says Mr. Moore, “undoubtedly was to exclude Irish settlers, against whom a strong national prejudice existed, heightened, perhaps, by zeal in differing religious opinions.”* And these were not individual prejudices, for the General Court of the colony, claiming jurisdiction over the neighbouring territory, resolved in 1720: “Whereas, it appears that certain families recently arrived from Ireland, and others from this province, have presumed to make a settlement,” &c. &c., “that the said people be warned to move off within the space of seven months; and if they fail to do so, that they be prosecuted by the attorney-general by writs of trespass and ejectment.” The Irish settlers would not be moved off, and it does not appear that the attorney-general ever tried his writs upon them.

In the capital of New England (as the eastern

* Jacob B. Moore's Sketch of Concord, New Hampshire. Hist. Collections of New Hampshire, p. 155.

colonies began to be called) some Irish settlers had early homes. In 1737, forty "gentlemen of the Irish nation," residing at Boston, adopted the following programme of association :

"Whereas, several gentlemen, merchants, and others, of the Irish nation, residing in Boston, in New England, from an affectionate and compassionate concern for their countrymen in these parts who may be reduced by sickness, shipwreck, old age, and other infirmities and unforeseen accidents, have thought fit to form themselves into a charitable society for the relief of such of their poor, indigent countrymen, without any design of not contributing towards the provision of the town poor in general, as usual."

The names of the twenty-six original members of this Society are as follows :

"Robert Duncan, Andrew Knox, Nathaniel Walsh, Joseph St. Lawrence, Daniel M'Fall, William Drummond, William Freeland, Daniel Gibbs, John Noble, Adam Boyd, William Stewart, Daniel Neal, James Maynes, Samuel Moore, Philip Mortimer, James Egart, George Glen, Peter Pelham, John Little, Archibald Thomas, Edward Alderchurch, James Clark, John Clark, Thomas Bennett, and Patrick Walker."

In 1737, William Hall was President ; in 1740, Robert Achmuty ; in 1743, Neil M'Intire ; in 1757, Samuel Elliot ; in 1784, Moses Black ; in 1791, Thomas English ; in same year, General Simon Elliot, junr., was elected ; in 1797, Andrew Dunlap ; and in 1810, Captain James M'Gee.

At the period of the foundation of the Chari-

table Society, the Irish in Boston were chiefly Protestants, and the 8th Article of the Constitution declared that none but Protestants were eligible to its offices or committees. The most absurd ideas of Irish inferiority prevailed. In 1752, an Irish servant was openly "sold for four years." Catholics, however, were "tolerated," and at the period of the Revolution there were several Catholic families in Boston, after which they rapidly increased.*

In 1636, the *Eagle Wing*, with 140 passengers, sailed from Carrickfergus to found a colony on the Merrimack. This vessel having put back by stress of weather, the project was for many years abandoned. Towards the end of the seventeenth cen-

* The following letter from Concord, Mass., furnishes some interesting particulars about a good man, one of the first settlers of that town :

"With some difficulty, I found the last resting-place of our countryman, Hugh Cargill. It is from the grave I write. It is marked by a plain slab, surmounted by an urn in relief, on which is inscribed the initials of the deceased. The inscription is nearly defaced, but, after hard rubbing, I made out the following :

'Here lies interred the remains of Hugh Cargill, late of Boston, who died in Concord, January 12th, 1792, in the 60th year of his age. Mr. Cargill was born in Ballyshannon, in Ireland; came to this country in the year 1774, destitute of the comforts of life; but by his industry and good economy, he acquired a good estate; (demised?) to his wife, Rebecca Cargill; likewise, a large and generous donation to the town of Concord for benevolent purposes.'

"Further down on the stone are the following lines :

'How strange, O God that reigns on high,
That I should come so far to die!
And leave my friends where I was bred,
To lay my bones with strangers' dead!
But I have hopes, when I arise,
To dwell with them in yonder skies.'

tury, it was again revived, and "the Londonderry settlement" was formed in the spring of 1719. It began with but sixteen families, who gave the name of their native home to their new abode. They were all Presbyterians in religion, and of that Celtic stock first planted in Scotland from Ireland, then re-naturalized in the parent land previous to its deportation to the sterner, but more independent, soil of New England. Few settlements were more prosperous or productive of great men than this. "In process of time," says Barstow, "the descendants of the Londonderry settlers spread over Windham, Chester,

"I find, in the statistics of the town, the following additional facts:

"Mr. Hugh Cargill bequeathed to the town the Stratton Farm, so called, which was valued in 1800, at 1,300 dollars, to be improved as a poor-house; and the same to be improved by and for the benefit of the poor, and to be under the special direction of the town of Concord for the time being, and for the purpose aforesaid, for ever.

"This farm is now the pauper establishment. He also gave several other parcels of real estate, valued at 3,720 dollars, the income of which is solely to be applied for the benefit of the poor."—*History of the Town of Concord.*

"It is also said he gave the ground to build the Orthodox meeting-house, but I could not find for certain if this is so.

"He was present on the memorable 19th of April, 1775, at the first battle for American liberty and rendered good service, together with one Bullock, in saving the town records from the ravages of the brutal soldiery.

"There was another eminent Irishman about the same time in Acton. If I find anything about him, I will send it along.

"Yours, very truly,

"JOHN GRAHAM."

Litchfield, Manchester, Bedford, Goffstown, New Boston, Antrim, Peterborough, and Ackworth, in New Hampshire, and Barnet, in Vermont. They were also the first settlers of many towns in Massachusetts, Maine, and Nova Scotia. They are now, to the number of 20,000, scattered over all the States of the Union.* Cherry Valley, in New York, was also in part peopled from Londonderry.†

In the year 1723, the Irish settlement of Bel-

* Barstow's "New Hampshire," p. 130. It may not be out of place to append here what I have been obliged to establish in detail elsewhere—the inaccuracy of certain New Hampshire orators and others, in inventing a mixed race whom they call "Scotch-Irish." To each of them we may say, as we have said to one of their best men : "When you assert that the M'Clellands, Campbells, M'Donalds, Magills, Fergusons, M'Neils, M'Gregors, &c., of Ulster, Scotland, and New Hampshire, are of a race 'entirely distinct' from the O'Flings, Sullivans, and Murphys, of the same or adjoining settlements, you are, I repeat it, in error. We are the same people. Our original language is the same. Our fathers speaking a common Gaelic tongue, fought, intermarried, and prayed together. The 'Mac' is our joint inheritance, as the Norman prefix 'de,' or the Saxon affix 'son.' Time and ignorance have obscured the early connexion of the two nobler kingdoms ; and, I grant you, it is more flattering to New England pride to claim kin with Bruce and Burns, whom they do know, than with Brian and Carolan, whom they as yet know not. If, indeed, a 'Wizard of the West' should arise, like him of the North, to throw enchantment round Ireland's illustrious names, I have no doubt they also would find many anxious to claim kindred with them."

† M'Kensie's "Remarkable Irishmen," part i., where one of the Cherry Valley families, named Campbell, is particularly noticed

fast was established in Maine by a few families. Among these was a Limerick schoolmaster named Sullivan, who, on the outward voyage, had courted a female fellow-passenger, a native of Cork, to whom he was married some time after his arrival in America. This gentleman had two sons, John and James, whom the father and mother lived to see at the summit of civil and military authority. In 1775, James Sullivan founded in the same State the township called Limerick, from which city several of its first settlers were brought over.

At Wellfleet, Cape Cod, and at Saybrook, Conn., we find some Longford emigrants, Higginses and Reillys. One of the earliest settlers at Plymouth was the founder of the Higgins family, now so numerous in New England; and the first deed of record in Hampden county, Mass., is an Indian transfer of land to one of the Reillys. The name of Ireland Parish, under Mount Holyoke, still shows the place of their settlement.

Some Irish families also settled early at Palmer and Worcester, Mass. On a tombstone, in the old burial-place of the latter town, are the names of John Young, a native of Derry, who died in 1730, aged 107; and David Young, a native of Donegal, who died in 1776, aged 94 years.

In 1761, 200 Irish emigrants settled in Nova Scotia. The town of Londonderry and county of Dublin were probably named by them. After the peace of 1763 a few Irish repaired to Canada, but there was no large emigration there till the beginning of the present century.

One of the most interesting episodes in the early annals of our predecessors here is the voyage of Berkeley to New England, to found his long-projected college of St. Paul's, for the civilization of the red men. George Berkeley was a native of Kilkenny, born near Thomastown, in 1684. His "Theory of Vision," composed in his twentieth year, made his name familiar in Europe. After travelling through France and Italy, he was promoted to the rich deanery of Derry. In the year 1725 his mind became fully impressed with the project of founding a college for the conversion of the red race, which he broached the same year in a pamphlet entitled "A Proposal for converting the savage Americans to Christianity, by a college to be erected in the Summer Islands, otherwise called the isles of Bermuda." After great exertions, certain lands in the West Indies, and an instalment of £10,000, were voted to him by the English Parliament, to be paid over as soon as the project went into operation. He at once resigned his deanery, stipulating for a yearly salary of £100, and "seduced some of the hopefullest young gentlemen" of Dublin University to accept professorships in the future St. Paul's, at £40 per year.* In January, 1729, Berkeley and his companions arrived at Newport, R. I., after a long and stormy voyage. Here, the inconstancy of courts pursued him. He was kept in waiting three years for the money voted him by Parliament, and finally assured by Walpole that there was no prospect of its ever being paid. In these

* Swift's Letter to Lord Cartaret—Swift's Works.

three years he was not inactive. He had a farm of ninety acres near Newport, where "Whitehall," the house he inhabited, still stands. Tradition points out his favorite retreat for reading, among the rocks that project over the deep waters of Narraganset Bay. Here his son was born, here his "Minute Philosopher" was composed, and here, also, he wrote those grand lines, so poetical in conception—

" Westward the star of empire takes its way,
The three first acts already past; *
The fourth shall close it with the closing day,
Earth's noblest empire is the last."

When about to return to Ireland, in 1732, he bequeathed his farm to Yale College, then in its infancy. He also presented it with "the finest collection of books that ever came at one time into America." † Thus, though his first design in favour of civilization was defeated, these private benefactions went far to supply its place; and the historian of American art will yet take pleasure in recording that the first organ which hymned the praise of God in New England, and the first artist that had dwelt amid its woods, were brought hither by the illustrious Bishop of Cloyne. This artist was the architect of Faneuil Hall, as first built, and the teacher of Copley, the first considerable native painter produced in the American Colonies. ‡

* "The three first acts"—Asia, Africa, and Europe.

† Baldwin's "Annals of Yale College," p. 417.

‡ The artist's name was Smibert; his picture of the Berkeley family is in Yale College, Connecticut.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EMIGRANTS IN ARMS—ADVENTURE OF JOHN STARK—THE IRISH BRIGADE IN CANADA—INDIAN WARS—PEACE OF 1763—DAWN OF THE REVOLUTION.

FRANCE and England had early laid claim to the same American territory. France claimed through Cartier's discovery; England through Cabot's. France possessed the Gulf of St. Lawrence (excepting Newfoundland), the banks of the Kennebec, the St. Lawrence, St. John, and Ottawa, Lakes Champlain and Ontario, and had its forts on the present sites of Detroit, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis. French adventurers had sketched a magnificent arch of empire on the basis of the Atlantic, but the English settlements penetrated it as so many arrows, all pointed towards the west.

Each power had its "friendly Indians." The New Hampshire settlers loosed the Penacooks on the French in Maine, and they, in return, used the Aroostooks against New Hampshire. Small expeditions were continually issuing from the settlements of each race, but no considerable armament was equipped until the expedition against Louisburg, Cape Breton, in 1744. William Vaughan of Portsmouth suggested this expedition; Massachusetts furnished 3,000 men; New Hampshire, 500; Rhode Island, 300; New York contributed cannon, and Pennsylvania a quantity of provisions. The place attacked was the Quebec

of that day, but it was forced to surrender to the gallantry and skill of the besiegers. This was in June, 1745. The military history of America dates from that remarkable event—the Trojan war of the future republic.

An Indian frontier was continued in Vermont and New Hampshire for four years. In 1749 there was a truce, but in 1753 the barbarous strife was again renewed. In this year a striking story is told of four hunters from Londonderry, who had "wandered in quest of game" into the territory of the Canadian Aroostooks. Two of them were scalped, and two taken prisoners. They were condemned at St. Francis to run the gauntlet. "This consists in passing through two files of warriors, each of whom is privileged to give the prisoners a blow. The elder of the prisoners passed through first, and suffered little less than death. The younger and remaining one was a lad of sixteen years. When his turn came, he marched forward with a bold air, snatched a club from the nearest Indian, and attacked the warriors as he advanced on the lines, dealing the blows right and left with a merciless and almost deadly force. Nothing in the conduct of a prisoner so charms the savage mind as a haughty demeanour and contempt of death. The old men were amused and delighted; the young warriors were struck with admiration at the gallant bearing of the youthful captive. They next ordered him to hoe corn. He cut it up by the roots, declaring that such work was fit for squaws, but unworthy of warriors. From that period he became their

favourite. They adopted him as a son, and gave him the title of ‘Young Chief.’ They dressed him in the highest style of Indian splendour, and decorated him with wampum and silver. It was not long after this that Captain Stevens was despatched on an embassy to Canada to redeem the captives. The first one offered him was their favourite young chief. Captain Stevens received him at their hands with delight. But no one of the rude warriors recognized in the young chief of their affection, the future American General, JOHN STARK.”*

In 1754 Montcalm became Governor of Canada, and made active preparations for war. The Albany Conference for the union of the colonies was held, and though at that time the union miscarried, a greater harmony of action was established. The campaign of 1755 began with three expeditions against the French forts. In that against Crown Point, on Lake George, Captain M’Ginnes of New Hampshire “fell on the French, at the head of 200 men, and completely routed them.” After turning the fortunes of the day, he fell, mortally wounded. The other two expeditions utterly failed. It was in covering the retreat of the one against Fort Du Quesne, that George Washington, then very young, first distinguished himself in arms.

The war, at this juncture, brought the “Irish

* Barstow’s “New Hampshire,” p. 139. The original name of Stark was Star-kie, or Stark-ey, as it is spelt on the monument of the father of the General at Stark’s Mills, New Hampshire.

Brigade" in the French armies to the Canadian frontier. They had been brought from the West Indies to the shores of the Saint Lawrence, for their country was with the lilies of France wherever they might grow. In 1756-7 they were at Oswego, under Montcalm, and probably participated in the capture of that fort, Fort George, and Fort William Henry.* Some of their number, leaving the service of the Bourbons, settled in the new world, and one,† at least, attained to distinguished honours in after years under the flag of the Republic.

In the campaigns of '58 and '59, fortune again returned to the British side. Louisburg was retaken, and Fort Du Quesne carried. Ticonderoga was at first assailed in vain, with terrible loss to the besiegers, but was taken at the second attack, as Niagara and finally Quebec were also. In 1760 English arms ended the dominion of the French in Canada, as, twenty years later, French aid ended that of England at Yorktown. So one nail drove out the other. The treaty of Paris in 1763 gave America one master less; the treaty of Paris, 1783, gave her almost complete independence.

Among the officers who commanded under Wolf, at the capture of Quebec, was an Irish

* O'Callaghan, "Documentary History of New York." It is strange that Forman, in his "Memoir of the Brigade," and Matthew O'Connor, in his "Military Memoirs," make no mention of their having seen the American "mainland."

† General Hand. In memory of this celebrated legion, a portion of the Pennsylvania line, during the war of the Revolution, styled themselves "The Irish Brigade."

gentleman, Richard Montgomery, then in his twenty-first year. He held the rank of colonel. John Stark, John Sullivan, and others, served their apprenticeship in the same Canadian war. Other days, and heavier responsibilities, were reserved for these brave men.

Each colony had its own Indian wars, which were the constant schools of the future soldiers of the Revolution. The formidable Delawares and Hurons kept the settlers of Pennsylvania and Western New York constantly on the alert, and trained to hardy enterprise the defenders of the new clearings.

The power of the Delawares was not thoroughly broken till after the Revolution, during the progress of which they were formidable auxiliaries to the Tories and British. Many terrible stories of their cruelties and punishment yet linger in the valley of the Susquehanna. The escape of Pike, an Irish deserter from the British army, and three others, from ten Indian sentinels near Tioga Point, is one of the best of these anecdotes, and might have furnished a subject to the author of the "Leather-stockting Tales." Though less abused than Simon Butler, Pike required equal courage and skill to overcome his guard, and tread back his way to Wyoming.

But it was on the southern frontier, adjoining the Spanish settlements, that Indian warfare was most formidable and implacable. The Spanish authorities in Florida constantly urged forward the fierce Yemasses to the re-conquest of the Carolinas. From the commencement of the cen-

tury to the war of independence, the settlers on the Santee and Savannah never knew repose. The names of Governor Moore, Captains Lynch and Kearns, and of Marion frequently appear as defenders of the whites. In this most trying warfare was trained that dauntless guerilla host, afterwards famous as "Marion's Men," among whom the names of Colonels Horry and M'Donald, of Captains Conyers and M'Cauley, are so conspicuous.

The peace of 1763 had scarcely been promulgated when the question of taxing the colonies, in London, was raised. In the British Parliament, in 1764, it was first nakedly brought forward. Previous to this they had submitted to many arbitrary prohibitions on their woollen and iron manufactures, and their West Indian imports. In March, 1764, "the Stamp Act" was enacted at London, and Dr. Franklin wrote to Charles Thompson, one of the Irish settlers of Pennsylvania : "The sun of liberty is set ; the Americans must light the lamps of industry and economy." To which Thompson replied : "Be assured we shall light torches of quite another sort." In the Virginia Assembly, Patrick Henry, a gentleman of Scottish origin, in the beginning of 1765, exclaimed : "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles had his Cromwell, and George III. (being interrupted with the cry of 'Treason !' he added) may profit by their example. If that be treason, make the most of it!"

In the preliminary moral contest, which arose universally, the Irish settlers were not unrepre-

sented. John Rutledge, in South Carolina, was the first man whose eloquence roused that State to the lever of resistance. In the east, Langdon and Sullivan seized the guns at Newcastle which thundered at Bunker Hill. In Virginia Patrick Henry was the first to declare for the choice, "Give me liberty, or give me death!" And Washington, at Valley Forge, is reported to have said: "Place me in Rockbridge county, and I'll get men enough to save the Revolution." In Maryland, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, over the signature of "First Citizen," maintained the rights of the people in a long and spirited controversy with Daniel Dulany, the royalist champion, "who had long stood the leading mind of Maryland." His services were well appreciated, and public meetings at Baltimore, Frederick, and Annapolis confirmed the title he had assumed, and Maryland proudly owned Charles Carroll for her "First Citizen." Charles Thompson, of Pennsylvania, afterwards Secretary to Congress, was also one of the earliest and most fearless advocates of the principles on which the Revolution proceeded that the country could reckon; and, happily, there was no scarcity of such men of any European race

CHAPTER V.

OPENING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA—IRISH AT BUNKER'S HILL—DEATH OF MAJOR M'CLARY—GENERAL KNOX—THE CLINTONS—THE PENNSYLVANIAN LINE—MOYLAN'S DRAGROOONS.

THE period of that eventful revolution in which the emigrants, who had chastised the savages and expelled the French, were to turn the firelocks and cannon of England against herself, now opens before us. From the period of the Albany Conference of 1754, the idea of confederation had filled the minds of the thoughtful, and from the capture of Louisburgh, the sense of self-protection animated the bold. It needed only in England a meddling minister and a perverse prince to bring forth the great resistant qualities of the colonies—and these appeared in perfection in Lord North and George III.

It is not our place to enter into the preliminaries of this glorious contest further than to say, that the whole Irish race threw their weight into the colonial scale. The Irish Commons refused to vote £45,000 for the war. The Irish in England, headed by Burke, Barre, and Sheridan, spoke and wrote openly in defence of America ; and the Irish in France, where several of them then held considerable employments, were equally zealous. Counts M'Mahon, Dillon, and Roche Fermoy, General Conway, and other experienced officers, held themselves ready to volunteer into the

American service ; and afterwards, at the desire of the American agents in Paris, did so.

The Stamp Act was repealed in 1766, but the Tea Tax was enacted in 1767. This measure led to the general combination which had its corresponding committee in every town and village, and which finally ripened into the Continental Army and Continental Congress.

The first overt act was the massacre of some citizens of Boston in State-street, by a party of riotous red-coats. One of these earliest victims was a native of Ireland. The next aggression was on the other side, and of far greater significance. News having reached Portsmouth, New Hampshire, that the export of gunpowder into America was "proclaimed," Major John Sullivan and John Langdon, with a company of the townsmen, surprised the fort at Newcastle, took the captain and five men, carried off one hundred barrels of gunpowder, fifteen light cannon, and the entire of the small arms, all of which afterwards did effectual service at Bunker Hill. For this act Sullivan and Langdon were elected to the Continental Congress, which met in May, 1775, and the former was, the same year, appointed by that body one of the eight brigadiers-general of the first American army.

In April, 1775, open war began at Lexington. When the British forces were beaten back into Boston, Thomas Cargill, of Ballyshannon, settled at Concord, saved the town records from their ravages, and entered heartily in the war. The American companies formed at Cambridge, their chief outwork being on Bunker Hill, behind Char-

lestown, divided by the Charles river from Boston. They were commanded by General Artemas Ward, who stationed behind the breastwork, on the left of the main body, 800 New Hampshire militia under Stark and Reid, both of Londonderry.* Here the first act of hostilities befell, and nobly did the conscripts of the colonies hold their own. After a great destruction of the enemy, they slowly retired to an adjacent hill, where they were re-formed, and placed under the command of Brigadier-General Sullivan. Major Andrew M'Clary, whose great size and desperate valour made him peculiarly conspicuous, fell while crossing "the

* The contribution of the Irish settlement in New Hampshire to the revolutionary forces may be judged from the share of the small town of Bedford—Col. Daniel Moor, Major John Goffe, Capt. Thomas M'Laughlin, Lt. Joh. Patten. Joh. Patten, junr., Sam. Patten, Jas. Patten, Robert Patten, John Gault, Isaac Riddle, John Riddle, Amos Martin, Jas. Martin, Stephen Goffe (lost at sea), Hugh Horton (died in service), Burns Chandler (taken at the Cedars, and never after heard of), Samuel Moor, Samuel Barr, John Collahan (killed), James Moor, Robert Cornell, Ira Greer, Jones Cutting, Wm. Parker, John Hillier, John M'Allister, Barnet M'Clair, John Griffer, Luke Gardiner, Robert Victorey, Robert Dalrymple (killed), Danl. Larkin, Samuel Patterson, James Patterson, Solomon Hemp (killed), John O'Neil, John Dorr (killed), George Hogg, Wm. Houston, Whitefield Gilmore, Zachariah Chandler, James Houston, Valentine Sullivan (taken prisoner in the retreat from Canada, and died), John Ross, John Steel, Stephen March, Robert Morril, John Tyrril, Patrick O'Murphy, Patrick O'Fling, Calvin Johnson (died in service, David Riddle, John Gardiner, and eighteen others, of whom three died in service.—*Hist. Coll. of N. H.*, vol i. p. 291.

Neck." Eighteen others of Stark and Reid's command were killed, and eighty-nine were wounded in the same eventful field.

The army awaited at Cambridge the arrival of General Washington, appointed Commander-in-chief by the Continental Congress, in session at Philadelphia, on the same week the battle of Bunker Hill was fought. It is necessary to inquire what forces the new Commander-in-chief had at his disposal, and, for our purpose, what part of those forces were derived from Irish settlements.

At the first Council of War, held at Cambridge (July 9th, 1775), it was found that "the Continental Army," then investing Boston, was nominally 17,000 strong, but actually but 14,000. It was resolved to prosecute the siege, but that 22,000 were necessary. Of the four majors-general (Ward, Lee, Schuyler, and Putnam), none were Irish ; of the eight brigadiers-general, two, Richard Montgomery, of New York, and John Sullivan, of New Hampshire, were Irish. Of the other officers we cannot now say what precise proportion our nation contributed ; but we will find, in the course of the war, that a full third of the active chiefs of the army were of Irish birth or descent. Of the rank and file, New Hampshire's contingent were in great part of Irish origin ; and in other colonies, recruiting prospered most in the Irish townships.

The command of the ordnance department was a post of the greatest importance, and the selection made by Washington in this case was most fortunate. Henry Knox, born in Boston, in

1750, was the son of Irish parents. Though early left an orphan, with a widowed mother to support, he had risen against circumstances from a book-binder's apprentice to be a prosperous publisher and a persevering student of tactics. He had early joined a local grenadier company, and learned with them the manual exercise. Married into the family of a British official, he never swerved from the cause of his country. He succeeded in inspiring his wife with his own patriotism, and in June both escaped from the city, she concealing on her person the sword with which her husband fought at Bunker Hill. Knox now undertook to bring to Cambridge the cannon taken on Lake Champlain by Ethan Allen ; and, after incredible exertions against the difficulties of transit in those days, succeeded. These and Sullivan's guns formed the first artillery of the United States army, and Knox became its first master of ordnance.

The Irish in New York early enlisted in the cause of the Revolution, and James Clinton, in 1775, was elected colonel of the third regiment raised in that colony. His brother-in-law, Col. James M'Cleary, commanded in the same militia, and is called "one of the bravest officers America can boast."* The elder brother, George Clinton, after the death of Montgomery, was appointed brigadier-general for New York ; and in 1776, with his two kinsmen, gallantly defended the unfinished forts on the Hudson, and held the Highlands against the repeated assaults of Sir H.

* Quoted in Hoosick's Life of De Witt Clinton.

Clinton.* By this check, he prevented the junction of that commander with General Burgoyne, which, with General Stark's victory at Bennington, cut him off from either base, and compelled his surrender at Saratoga—a victory which completed the French alliance, and saved the revolutionary cause.

In Pennsylvania, where the Irish were more densely settled, their martial ardour was equally conspicuous. They inhabited chiefly in Ulster and Chester counties, and in Philadelphia. In the summer of 1775, Congress ordered the raising of several regiments in Pennsylvania, and, among the rest, gave commissions as colonel to Anthony Wayne, William Irving, William Thomp-

* On one occasion the brothers narrowly escaped capture. The anecdote is related by Dr. Joseph Young, a contemporary, who says, at the taking of the forts, "they both remained until it grew dark, and got mixed up with the enemy. The governor escaped in a boat to the east side of the river, and James slid down the very steep bank of a creek which ran near the redoubt, and fell into the top of a hemlock tree, and made his escape by going up the bed of the brook, in which there was but little water at the time. When the enemy rushed into the redoubt, Colonel McCleary and a Mr. Humphrey, the cock of whose musket had been shot off, turned back to back, and defended themselves desperately. They were assailed on all sides, and would undoubtedly have been killed; but a British senator, who witnessed their spirit and bravery, cried out that it would be a pity to kill such brave men. They then rushed on and seized them; and when the colonel was brought to the British General Clinton, he asked where his friend George was? The colonel replied, "Thank God, he is safe beyond the reach of your friendship."—*Washington and his Generals*, vol. ii. p. 206.

son, Walter Stewart, Stephen Moylan, and Richard Butler, all Irishmen. The regiments of Wayne, Irving, Butler, and Stewart, formed part of the famous "Pennsylvania Line." Thompson's was a rifle regiment. Moylan, a native of Cork, after being aide-de-camp to Washington and commissary-general, was finally transferred to the command of the dragoons; and in almost every severe action of the war where cavalry could operate, we meet with the fearless "Moylan's Dragoons." Dr. Edmund Hand, who came to Canada with the Irish Brigade as surgeon, was appointed lieutenant-colonel in Thompson's regiment, and on the first of March, 1776, raised to the full rank of colonel, from which, on the first of April, 1777, he was promoted to be "brigadier-general." Colonel Butler, a sound shoot of the Ormond tree, and his five sons, displayed equal zeal, and merited from Lafayette the compliment, that whenever he "wanted anything well done, he got a Butler to do it." So actively did these gentlemen exert themselves, that on the 14th of August, 1776, a great part of the Pennsylvania Line arrived in the camp at Cambridge, which enabled Washington, by the beginning of September, to put his plans for the siege of Boston into execution.

While in camp at Cambridge, the Commander-in-chief planned the expedition against Canada. This was to be undertaken in two divisions; that of Arnold to penetrate by the Kennebec and the forests of Maine; that of Montgomery to advance by the Sorel and St. Lawrence. Both were to unite at Quebec.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CANADIAN EXPEDITION — DEATH OF MONTGOMERY — BURIAL REFUSED TO HIS REMAINS BY THE BRITISH — RETREAT OF THE INVADING CORPS — THOMPSON, SULLIVAN, AND GATES IN COMMAND — ADVANCE OF BURGOYNE — STARK'S VICTORY AT BENNINGTON — SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE.

It was not without deep reflection that General Washington, at Cambridge, ordered the advance of two invading divisions into Canada. The one was placed under Arnold, a brave soldier assuredly, but one who cast away the jewel of fidelity, and left a figure in the annals of that glorious war over which his country would long since have drawn a veil, were it not useful to perpetuate the infamy of treason for the terror of the venal and the warning of the weak.

The head of the other corps was not a braver, but a much better man — a soldier without reproach as well as without fear. Richard Montgomery was then in his thirty-ninth year, having been born in Ireland in 1736. He had distinguished himself, at the age of twenty-three, in the second siege of Louisburg, and served as colonel under Wolfe at the capture of Quebec. After spending nine years in Europe, he emigrated to New York, and made his home at Rhinebeck, Dutchess county. He had married a lady every way worthy of him, the daughter of Chancellor Livingston, and looked forward to a life of peace spent in the pursuits of agriculture. In accepting

the appointment in June, 1775, he wrote, "The Congress having done me the honour of electing me brigadier-general in their service, is an event which must put an end for a while, perhaps for ever, to the quiet scheme of life I had prescribed for myself; for though entirely unexpected and undesired by me, the will of an oppressed people, compelled to choose between liberty and slavery, must be obeyed." Major-General Schuyler, having fallen ill at Ticonderoga, the sole command devolved on Montgomery, who certainly conducted it with rare judgment. Fort Chamby and St. John were successively taken. Montreal was captured, and, in the midst of a Canadian winter, he pressed on his men towards Quebec, where Arnold's party were already arrived. On the 1st of December Montgomery took the chief command. An eye-witness has graphically sketched his first review of his troops. "It was lowering and cold, but the appearance of the general here gave us warmth and animation. He was well-limbed, tall, and handsome, though his face was much pock-marked. His air and manner designated the real soldier. He made us a short but energetic and elegant speech, the burthen of which was in applause of our spirit in crossing the wilderness, a hope our perseverance in that spirit would continue, and a promise of warm clothing; the latter was a most comfortable assurance. A few huzzas from our freezing bodies were returned to this address of the gallant hero. New life was infused into the whole corps."* It was the last day of that me-

* Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i.

morable year, 1775, before the arrangements for assaulting Quebec were complete. In two bodies, Arnold's towards the suburb of St. Roque, and Montgomery's by the river bank, they advanced to the attack. It was the night of the 31st of December. The St. Lawrence was floored with ice ; the shore, the pine woods, the distant fortress, all wore the white livery of winter in the north. The divisions were to communicate by rockets, and Arnold was already at the Palace Gate, when a severe wound obliged him to yield his command to Morgan. Montgomery had reached Point Diamond by a road guarded by an out-work of two guns. At daybreak, perceiving the Americans so near, the Canadian militia, in whose charge the work was, deserted their post ; but a New England sea-captain, who had slept in the work, before leaving, applied a match to one of the loaded guns, and by this chance shot Montgomery was killed.* The artillery from the main fortress now played in the same direction, and when the winter's day had fairly come, a party of British soldiers found, lying dead on the frozen ground, with three wounds in his breast, and his sword arm stretched towards Quebec, the remains of the gallant general, surrounded by several of his staff, all lifeless.

Both corps, deprived of their chief officers, fell back from the fatal walls, and retreated along the bank of the river. As to the dead, Sir G. Carleton at first refused the chief the poor courtesy of a coffin,†

* Hawkins' History of Quebec.

† Mass. Hist. Collection, vol. i. p. 3—year 1792.!

and the prayer of a woman at length obtained Christian burial for the remains of those brave gentlemen, who left their homes, and friends, and wives, to perish in that pitiless climate for the cause of their unstipendiary devotion. As yet America had no flag, no Declaration of Independence, and no Articles of Confederation. Montgomery knew that he risked the fate of a rebel ; but even that could not deter him from his duty.

Three generals have fallen at Quebec under three different flags. All were brave, all merciful, all young. Montcalm, with blood ardent as the wine of his own France ; Wolfe, with a courage as indomitable as the enterprise of his island, which can wring a prize from every rock ; Montgomery, the last and best of all, with soul as noble as his cause, and honour bright as his own sword. Three deaths, Quebec, do consecrate thy rock ; three glories crown it like a tiara ! Of the three, his death was the saddest, and even so has his glory become brightest of them all.

Tributes of respectful condolence poured in from all distinguished Americans to Montgomery's widow ; the nation mourned him as its eldest child, its proto-martyr ; and, forty years after his fall, New York gathered together his ashes, and entombed them in the most conspicuous church of its great city. The widow of the hero, desolate to death, assisted at these last sad honours to the memory of "her soldier," for whom she still retained all the ardent affection of her girlhood.

The retreat from Quebec was at first committed to Generals Wooster and Arnold, and afterwards to Brigadier-General William Thompson. Under the latter, the remnant of the American army fought, in the spring of 1776, the unsuccessful battle of Three Rivers. General Sullivan was then despatched to take the command, and hoped to regain much of what had been lost, when the forces were placed under General Gates, who slowly retreated before Burgoyne into New York.

Burgoyne advanced steadily towards the Hudson, sending out a large party, under Colonel Baum, to forage in Vermont, or, as it was then called, "the New Hampshire Grants." John Stark was, at the time in New Hampshire, having retired from the service in consequence of the injustice done him by Congress in raising junior officers over him. But his native State now called him to lead a new militia of its own, irrespective of the continental army, and with these he fell on Baum, at Bennington, on the 14th of August, cut up his division, captured his guns, stores, and colours. The Clintons, somewhat earlier in the month, had prevented relief reaching Burgoyne through the valley of the Hudson; and so, in September, that clever play-wright, but ill-starred soldier, was compelled to lay down his arms, and surrender to the Americans under General Gates. Thus, the remnant of the Canadian army, reinforced and rested, became in turn the conquerors; and John Stark, recently censured for insubordination, was forthwith raised to the rank of major-

general.* Among the American loss at Bennington was Captain M'Clary, whose relative fell at Bunker's Hill.

CHAPTER VII.

IRISHMEN IN THE UNITED STATES NAVY— COMMODORE BARRY—CAPTAIN M'GEE—CAPTAIN O'BRIEN— MIDSCHIPMAN M'DONOUGH—PURSER MEASE— BARRY'S LIEUTENANTS, MURRAY, DALE, DECATUR, AND STEWART.

THE organisation of the infant navy of the United States was one of the heaviest anxieties of the first Congress. Among a people bred to the use of arms, and annually involved in Indian warfare, it was a much easier matter to raise an army than, out of the limited shipping of the young seaports, to find vessels and officers to whom the national flag could be entrusted on the other element.

Fortune had thrown in the way of Washington a man most useful for this department of the public service. This was John Barry, a native of the parish of Tacumshane, Wexford county, Ireland. Barry was born in the year 1745, the son of "a snug farmer," and had but to step out

* The British guns taken by Stark were captured with Hull at Detroit, in the war of 1812. The old hero was dreadfully annoyed at the intelligence. " My guns! my guns!" he would exclaim, and even thought of returning to active service, in order to wipe out that disgraceful event.

of his own door to stand beside the sea. He conceived so strong a love for a sailor's life that, at fourteen or fifteen years of age, he crossed the Atlantic, and began to sail to and from Philadelphia. He rose from one trust to another, teaching himself as he rose, till, at twenty-five years of age, he was captain of the *Black Prince*, one of the finest London and Philadelphia packets, afterwards a vessel of war. Mr. Rese Meredith was the owner of this ship, and Washington's host when in Philadelphia. It was in his house the illustrious Virginian met and marked the future commodore.

In the latter part of 1775 Congress had purchased a few merchant ships, and hastily fitted them up as vessels of war. Captain Barry was given the command of the principal, the *Lexington*; and in another, the *Alfred*, Paul Jones entered as first lieutenant. These vessels both lay in the Delaware, and when the flag of the Union was agreed on, they were the first to hoist it afloat.

From the *Lexington*, in 1776, Barry was transferred to the frigate *Effingham*, and while the Delaware was frozen that winter, served on land, acting as aide-de-camp to General Cadwallader at the battle of Trenton. In 1777, the British fleet destroyed the two or three ships of Congress in the Delaware, but Barry conceived and executed many most successful manœuvres, such as capturing store-ships and intercepting supplies, in the small craft and in armed boats. Washington publicly thanked him and his men for these effective services. In 1778-9, he commanded the

Relief, and received the rank of Commodore, being the first on whom it was conferred. In 1781, he brought the American agent to France in his new ship, the *Alliance*, and on his way home captured the British ship *Atalanta*, and British brig *Tres-pasa*, both in the same battle. Captain Barry was badly wounded in the action, but continued to give orders till the enemy struck. In 1781, he brought Lafayette and Count Noailles to France; and in 1782 engaged three British frigates in the West Indian waters, who retired badly damaged. This was the last year of the war.

From 1783 till his death, Barry was constantly engaged in superintending the progress of the navy. He induced the government to adopt the model for ships of war which has been found so well suited to its uses. He was particularly fond of aiding the younger officers in the service, and we shall see what his "boys" came to be. He was an exceedingly affable and hospitable man, and, what is unfortunately not usual in his profession, practically religious. He died in September, 1803, and his chief legacy was to the Catholic Orphan Asylum. He has been called by naval writers "The Father of the American Navy." He is buried in St. Joseph's, Philadelphia.

The personal character of Commodore Barry was made of noble stuff. When Lord Howe tempted him with a vast bribe, and the offer of a British ship of the line, he replied, "he had devoted himself to the cause of his country, and not the value or command of the whole British

fleet could seduce him from it." He never was ashamed of his native land, and after the peace of Paris paid a visit to the place of his birth, which fact is still remembered with gratitude in his native parish. When hailed by the British frigates in the West Indies, and asked the usual questions as to the ship and captain, he answered, "The United States ship *Alliance*, saucy Jack Barry—half Irishman, half Yankee. Who are you?"

In 1778, Captain James M'Gee, while commanding "in the service of the Commonwealth," was shipwrecked in Massachusetts Bay, and seventy-two of his men lost. The survivors were very kindly treated by the inhabitants of Plymouth, who also "decently buried such bodies as were recovered."* In 1791, Captain James M'Gee was admitted a member of the Irish Charitable Society of Boston, and, in 1810, was its president. Captain Bernard M'Gee was admitted the same time. I regret that I have been able to find no further data about either of these officers.

One of the earliest prizes carried into the United States was a British ship, captured by Captain O'Brien, and brought into Marblehead. We have searched in vain for further mention of O'Brien during the war.

On board the other ships of the new navy there were several Irish officers of minor grades, some of whom afterwards rose to independent commands.

* Holmes' "American Annals," vol. ii. p. 293.

In the quarrel between America and France, or rather the Directory, one of the severest actions fought was that of the *Constellation*, commanded by Commodore Truxton, with the French frigate *L'Insurgente*. In this action, Midshipmen Porter and James M'Donough distinguished themselves. The former was of Irish descent, the latter of Irish birth. Mr. M'Donough had his foot shot off, and was obliged to retire from the navy; but his younger brother, Thomas, who entered the same year, more than justified the expectations of the friends of that family. Their father, Major M'Donough, had settled at Newcastle, Delaware, shortly before the birth of Thomas, who used to say of himself that "his keel was laid in Ireland, but he was launched in America." Major M'Donough died in 1796.

Mr. Matthew Mease, Purser in the *Bon Homme Richard*, with Paul Jones, was a very brave man. In the conflict with the *Serapis* frigate, he begged to be allowed to direct the quarter deck guns, which he did very gallantly, till, says Paul Jones, "being dangerously wounded in the head, I was obliged to fill his place." He was most respectably connected in Philadelphia, where he died in 1787.

Under Commodore Barry some of the most brilliant ornaments of the American Navy were trained, such as Murray, Dale, Decatur, and Stewart, all of whom became conquerors and commodores. Dale, especially, was a favourite of "the Father of the Navy," and his noble conduct through life fully justified the confidence placed

in his character by Barry from the first day of his entering under his charge.

In the war of 1812, Barry's pupils all rose to eminent distinction, as we shall find when we arrive at that period.

CHAPTER VIII.

DISSATISFACTION AT CERTAIN CONGRESSIONAL PROMOTIONS—GENERALS ROCHE FERMOY AND ANDREW LEWIS—THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1777 AND 1778 IN NEW JERSEY—“MAD ANTHONY WAYNE.” ADJUTANT - GENERAL HAND — “THE CONWAY CABAL”—COLONEL FITZGERALD, AIDE-DE-CAMP TO WASHINGTON—HIS GALLANTRY AT PRINCETON—CONTRIBUTION OF THE IRISH MERCHANTS OF PHILADELPHIA.

THE dissatisfactions which invariably arise when military promotions are arbitrarily made by the civil power, we have seen driving the gallant Stark from the service of the Revolution. He was not the only officer so dissatisfied by the congressional mode of promotion. Schuyler, Sullivan, and others, were several times on the eve of resignation, from being inconsiderately treated. Brigadier Roche Fermoy and Brigadier Armstrong had actually retired for similar reasons. Roche Fermoy was originally an Irish officer in the service of France. In the New Jersey campaign of 1778 he was at the head of the corps of observation “appointed to receive and communicate” reports of the enemy’s movements to Washington. After

resigning his commission to Congress, he returned to France, where an essay on "The Military Resources of Ireland" was published in his name. It is a pamphlet of extraordinary merit, both for style and science. The retirement that Washington most regretted was that of General Andrew Lewis, the son of Irish parents, born in Augusta county, Virginia. They had served together in the India wars and at Fort Necessity, and the commander-in-chief was strongly prepossessed in his favour. He died in 1778 on his return from the Ohio, where he reduced the Indian tribes to submission—for the time being at least.

After Lafayette, the most constant and conspicuous figure in the campaigns of 1777 and 1778 (chiefly fought upon the Delaware) was Anthony Wayne. In February, 1777, he had been promoted to a brigade, and at the Brandywine in September, and on the Schuylkill in October, he was the most conspicuous chief. At "the drawn battle" of Germantown he held the first place, and during the dismal winter in Valley Forge he kept the field, foraging right and left. In the battle of Monmouth (June, 1778) he turned the fortune of the day, and won the special thanks of Washington and Congress. But his two most brilliant actions followed—the capture of Stony Point and the battle of Bergen Neck.

Stony Point, on the Hudson, commanded the King's Ferry, the usual route from the eastern to the midland states. It also formed the key of the Highlands. On two sides it was washed by the river, on the third guarded by a deep and

wide morass. Art had fortified what nature had made strong, and 600 infantry garrisoned the formidable fortress. Major Stewart, his countryman and brother-in-law, with Colonels Fleury, Febiger, and Meigs, commanded under the general. The force arrived before the fort at eight o'clock of a July night, and carried it by one of the most dashing assaults in military history. Universal applause hailed this brilliant exploit. The action of Bergen Neck was fought the week following. General Irvine was with Wayne, and Moylan's Dragoons acted a conspicuous part. The enemy were compelled to cross the Hudson, and seek for safety under the walls of New York. For his daring valour in this expedition, Wayne obtained in the army the soubriquet of "Mad Anthony."

Another Pennsylvania Irishman figured in these same campaigns almost as conspicuously as Wayne. General Hand's corps, "up to the battle of Trenton," "was distinguished in every action of the war." In October, 1778, he succeeded General Stark in the command at Albany, and conducted a successful expedition against the five Indian nations whose conquest was completed by Sullivan the following year. In 1780, on the formation of the light infantry corps, he and General Poor were appointed to the two brigades. In this campaign, after chastising the perfidious Delawares, Sullivan and his officers were entertained at a banquet by the citizens of Wyoming. Colonel Butler presided, and one of the regular toasts was, "May the kingdom of Ireland merit a stripe in the American standard." In 1781, General

Hand was appointed adjutant-general, an office he continued to hold till the army was disbanded. In 1798, when Washington consented to act again as Commander-in-chief, he recommended General Hand's re-appointment as adjutant-general. He was frequently honoured with civil appointments, and, in 1790, was one of the authors of the constitution of Pennsylvania. In the army he was remarkable for his "noble horsemanship," and his favourite horses have been often mentioned by his comrades as "an active grey," and "a sorrel roan remarkable for lofty action." General Hand died at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1803. His life ought to be written in detail.

We have here to record a less grateful fact connected with a distinguished Irish officer.

It was during the New Jersey campaigns that "the Conway Cabal," as it is called, exploded. This was an attempt, on the part of several officers, traceable mainly to the ambition of General Gates, to deprive Washington of the command-in-chief, and to substitute that general in his stead. Gates, Schuyler, Lee, and others were parties to this movement, which was finally revealed by Lafayette, and broken up. General Conway, who had come from France at the first outbreak, and ranked as brigadier-general, after a quarrel and duel with General Cadwallader, returned home, first writing Washington a manly and regretful letter. The cabal has been called by his name mainly, we believe, for the sake of the alliteration.*

* General Sullivan, in his letter to Washington, says Conway was "imprudently led into the cabal."

In North Carolina there had been constant operations throughout the war, and the cause of the Revolution had sustained a severe loss at the outset by the death of Brigadier-General Moore (grandson of Governor Moore), in 1775. His most active successor in the state seems to have been James Hogan, also of Irish origin, who entered the service as paymaster of the third regiment in 1776, and the same month was made major of the Edenton and Halifax regiment. Hogan's services were more onerous than brilliant; in 1799 he was appointed brigadier-general in the line, with a view to the required operations in his neighbourhood.

It would be impossible, did we descend from the officers of the first rank, to record all the heroic actions performed by those of lower standing through these two critical campaigns. The name of Colonel Fitzgerald, Washington's favourite aide-de-camp, deserves special mention. The most striking event, in his long and honourable career, befel him at Princeton. We shall let the heir of his general record it, as he had it from the lips of the actors themselves.

"Col. Fitzgerald," says Mr. G. Washington Custis, "was an Irish officer in the old Blue and Bluffs, the first volunteer company raised in the South, in the dawn of the Revolution, and commanded by Washington. In the campaign of 1778, and retreat through the Jerseys, Fitzgerald was appointed aide-de-camp to Washington. At the battle of Princeton occurred that touching scene, consecrated by history to everlasting re-

membrance. The American troops, worn down by hardships, exhausting marches, and want of food, on the fall of their leader, that brave old Scotchman, General Mercer, recoiled before the bayonets of the veteran foe. Washington spurred his horse into the interval between the hostile lines, rearing up with the charger's head to the foe, and calling to his soldiers, ' Will you give up your general to the enemy ? ' The appeal was not made in vain. The Americans faced about, and the arms were levelled on both sides—Washington between them—even as though he had been placed there as a target for both. It was at this moment that Fitzgerald returned from carrying an order to the rear ; and here let us use the gallant veteran's own words. He said : ' On my return, I perceived the general immediately between our line and that of the enemy, both lines levelling for the decisive fire that was to decide the fortune of the day. Instantly there was a roar of musketry, followed by a shout. It was the shout of victory. On raising my eyes, I discovered the enemy broken and flying, while dimly, amid the glimpses of the smoke, was seen Washington alive and unharmed, waving his hat and cheering his comrades to the pursuit. I dashed my rowels into my charger's flanks, and flew to his side, exclaiming, " Thank God ! your excellency is safe." I wept like a child for joy.' "

In the eulogy which he bestowed on Fitzgerald, Mr. Custis has not forgotten Moylan, Stewart, Proctor, and other Pennsylvania Irishmen. Of them, we may repeat what Teeling says so well

in his Narrative of 1798: "They may sleep in the silent tomb, but the remembrance of their virtues will be cherished while liberty is dear to the American heart."

We have to leave, for a time, the officers of the army, to look after the condition of its commissariat. In 1777, dreadful distress was suffered at Valley Forge, and the following year did not alleviate the condition of the army. In 1779, the Connecticut militia mutinied, and were only quelled by calling out "the Pennsylvania Line," and arraying it against them. In 1780, even these latter began to murmur, half fed, unpaid, and ill-clothed that they were. Wayne himself, their idol when in action, was unable to control them; and had it not been for an extraordinary effort of patriotism on the part of the merchants of Philadelphia, the army would have utterly fallen to pieces. On the 17th June, 1780, ninety-three Philadelphia merchants signed the following paper:

"Whereas, in the present situation of public affairs in the United States, the greatest and most vigorous exertions are required for the successful management of the just and necessary war in which they are engaged with Great Britain, we, the subscribers, deeply impressed with the sentiments that on such an occasion should govern us in the prosecution of a war on the event of which our own freedom and that of our posterity, and the freedom and independence of the United States, are all involved, hereby severally pledge our property and credit for the several

sums specified and mentioned after our names, in order to support the credit of a bank to be established for furnishing a supply of provisions for the armies of the United States; and do hereby severally promise and engage to execute to the directors of the said bank, bonds of the form hereunto annexed.

"Witness our hands this 17th day of June, in the year of our Lord 1780."*

Twenty of these, of Irish origin, subscribed nearly half-a-million of dollars, in the following proportion :

Blair M'Clenaghan,	£10,000	John Patton,	... 2,000
J. M. Nesbitt & Co.,	5,000	Benjamin Fuller,	... 2,000
Richard Peters,	5,000	George Meade & Co.	... 2,000
Samuel Meredith,	5,000	John Donaldson,	... 2,000
James Mease,	5,000	Henry Hill,	... 5,000
Thomas Barclay,	5,000	Kean & Nichols,	... 4,000
Hugh Shiell,	5,000	James Caldwell,	... 2,000
John Dunlap,	4,000	Samuel Caldwell,	... 1,000
John Nixon,	5,000	John Shee,	... 1,000
George Campbell,	2,000	Sharp Delany,	... 1,000
John Mease,	4,000	Tench Francis,	... 5,500
Bunner, Murray & Co.,	6,000		
		Being	£88,500

This bank continued to exist during the war, and then gave way to the Bank of North America. By this timely expedient the war was enabled to go forward, and Washington found himself free to execute his final plans.

The theatre of the war was now transferred to Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Beaten at all points in the North, the British attempted the South, under Cornwallis. Gates, the victor at

* "American Remembrancer," vol. x. p. 229; 6 Haz. Reg. of Pennsylvania, p. 28; 2 do., 259, 261; Hood's Sketch of "The Friendly Sons of St. Patrick," p. 43.

Saratoga, was defeated in turn at Campden, and superseded by Greene. Wayne, despatched to the same scene of operations, captured Yorktown, and shut up the British in Savannah. In July, he had the pleasure to beat them out, and, in December following, he took possession of Charleston as they gave it up. Throughout his southern campaign (the last of the war) he was accompanied by "the remnant of Moylan's Dragoons." Before the evacuation of Savannah, Cornwallis had got cooped up in Yorktown, cut off by Washington on the land side and the French fleet by sea. On the 19th of October, 1781, he surrendered himself and 7,000 men as prisoners of war; and the following spring proposals were made for peace by Great Britain, which agreed to acknowledge the independence of "the United States of North America."

The surrender of Cornwallis was the signal for peace. England, baffled by the heroism and perseverance of America, relinquished all her claims to sovereignty over the revolted colonies, and prepared to sign her abdication with the best grace she could assume. In 1782, the Peace of Paris was completed, and at the opening of the next year it was proclaimed. Thus, after a war of seven years, the liberties of America were won, and the field prepared for the plantation of those democratic institutions whose influence already penetrates the world. The soldiers returned to their homes, and the labors of the statesmen commenced where those of the army ended.

CHAPTER IX.

IRISHMEN IN CIVIL SERVICE DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA—POLICY OF THE FIRST CONGRESS TOWARDS IRELAND—CHARLES THOMPSON OF MAGHERA SECRETARY TO CONGRESS—THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE—EIGHT IRISH SIGNERS—THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION ADOPTED. SIX IRISH AUTHORS OF THAT INSTRUMENT—EARLY IRISH GOVERNORS.

THE important civil services rendered to the American people abroad by Edmund Burke, Colonel Barre, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and the then young Henry Grattan, in demonstrating the justice of the colonial cause, and vindicating the character of the early Congress, are but a portion of the part borne by the Irish race in the politics of the Revolution.

So well aware was the first Congress of the importance of separating the sympathies of our nation from George III., that one of the first acts of the Congress of 1775 was the adoption of an address to the Irish people, in which they drew a marked distinction between the Irish and English Parliaments. “*Your Parliament has done us no wrong,*” said they. “*In defence of our persons and properties, under actual revolution, we have taken up arms.* When that violence shall be removed, and hostilities cease on the part of the aggressors, they shall cease on our part also.” They conclude by hoping that the extremes

to which the colonies have been driven may have the effect of deterring the king's ministers from a continuance of a similar policy in Ireland.

This wise distinction between England and Ireland was first made by Franklin, who, in 1771, made a tour of Ireland, and was the guest of Dr. Lucas at Dublin. In a letter to Thomas Cushing of Boston, dated London, January, 1772, he gives the following key to his diplomacy in Dublin :

" Before leaving Ireland, I must mention that, being desirous of seeing the principal patriots there, I stayed till the opening of their Parliament. I found them disposed to be friends of America, in which I endeavoured to confirm them, with the expectation that our growing weight might in time be thrown into their scale, and, by joining our interest with theirs, a more equitable treatment from this nation might be obtained for them as well as for us. There are many brave spirits among them. The gentry are a very sensible, polite, and friendly people. Their Parliament makes a most respectable figure, with a number of very good speakers in both parties, and able men of business. And I must not omit acquainting you that, it being a standing rule to admit members of the English Parliament to sit (though they do not vote) in the House among the members, while others are only admitted into the gallery, my fellow-traveller, being an English member, was accordingly admitted as such. But I supposed I must go to the gallery, when the Speaker stood up and acquainted the House that

he understood there was in town an American gentleman of (as he was pleased to say) distinguished character and merit, a member or delegate of some of the parliaments of that country, who was desirous of being present at the debates of the House ; that there was a rule of the House for admitting members of English Parliaments, and that he supposed the House would consider the American assemblies as English Parliaments ; but, as this was the first instance, he had chosen not to give any order in it without receiving their directions. On the question, the House gave a loud unanimous *aye*, when two members came to me without the bar—”*

After the declaration of war in 1775, Franklin, then at Paris, issued a letter to “the People of Ireland,” embodying in more striking terms these private views formed in 1771, and ably enforcing the policy of their refusing to join in the war against the colonies.

One effect followed from the publication of these addresses—an effect still operating, and likely to continue long—namely, the thorough identification of Irish feeling with American success. If Ireland, no longer a power in Europe, was unable to respond to these sentiments by national alliance or subsidies, the hearts and the arms of her individual sons were freely offered, and as freely used, throughout the contest for independence.

Irish intellect, also, volunteered its services,

* The remainder of the letter is lost—*vide* Franklin’s Correspondence, vol. i.

and was employed. Charles Thompson, born in Maghera, county of Derry, in 1730, had reached Pennsylvania at the age of eleven. His father died while the emigrant ship was entering the Delaware, and his children, by a harsh construction of a bad law, were deprived of the property he left. Two elder brothers laboured to supply their father's place; and under Dr. Allison, also of Ireland (by whom, first at New London and afterwards at Philadelphia, several of the revolutionary chiefs were educated), young Charles received a thorough education. In his youth he became intimate with Benjamin Franklin, with whom he "agreed on all subjects except religion." In 1758, he was one of the agents to the Indian Treaty at Oswego; and so favourably did he impress the red men, that the Delawares adopted him into their tribe, conferring on him an Indian name which means "one who speaks the truth." In 1774, he was chosen secretary to the first Congress, and continued to fill that onerous office until 1789, when the formal adoption of the Constitution closed its functions. He wrote out the Declaration of Independence, from Jefferson's draft, and was the medium through which Franklin received his instructions, and Washington was informed of his election as first President of the Union. He lived to a patriarchal age, ten miles from Philadelphia. "He was," says a contemporary, "about six feet high, erect in his gait, dignified in his deportment, and interesting in his conversation." He spent his retirement in translating the Septuagint, a work of great learning,

which appeared in four volumes in 1808. He continued till his death to take great interest in polities, and, in 1824, in relation to the contest about the United States Bank, exclaimed to a friend, "Money, money, is the god of this world!" He died on the 16th of August in that year.

Mr. John Dunlap, a native of Strabane, who, in 1771, issued the *Pennsylvania Packet* (the first daily paper published in America), was printer to the Convention of 1774, and to the first Congress, and the first who printed the Declaration of Independence. That august document, copied by Charles Thompson, ^{who} also first read to the people, from the centre window of the hall in which Congress met, by Colonel John Nixon, an Irishman. In 1815, Alderman John Binns, of Philadelphia, another Irishman, published the document for the first time, with fac similes of the signers' signatures. This he had proposed to do by subscription, but that mode not succeeding, he issued, at his own expense, the most perfect engraving of a state paper ever given to the American public.*

* It is worthy of remark that before the publication of Mr. Binns, there never had been a correct copy of the Declaration printed—not even on the journals of Congress. In all preceding copies, the caption ran, "A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled." Whereas, on the original parchment signed by the members of the Congress which adopted it, it is as follows: "In Congress, July 4th, 1776—The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America." This is a remarkable fact, and a strong proof

Mr. Dunlap was captain of the first troop of Philadelphia horse, and when asked, in 1799, when he could be ready to march against the rioters in Northampton county, replied, "When the laws and government of this happy country require defence, the Philadelphia Cavalry need but one hour's notice."

The Declaration of Independence was signed by fifty-six names, of whom nine (including Secretary Thompson) were of Irish origin. Matthew Thornton, born in Ireland in 1714, signed it for New Hampshire. He was afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and died 24th June, 1803. James Smith, who signed for Pennsylvania, was born in Ireland in 1713, and died in 1806. George Taylor, a signer from the same State, was born in Ireland, in 1716, so poor that his services were sold on his arrival to pay the expense of his passage out. He died at Easton, Pennsylvania, 23rd Feb., 1781. George Read, of Delaware, was the son of Irish parents, one of the authors of the Constitution of Delaware, and afterwards of the Federal Constitution. It was he who answered the British tempters—"I am a poor man, but, poor as I am, the King of England is not rich enough to purchase me." He died in 1798. Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, was of Irish descent and very wealthy. He affixed his address after

of the necessity of consulting, in such cases, original documents. For this splendid publication, Mr. Binns received at the time the special thanks of General Lafayette, John Quincy Adams, and other eminent friends and citizens of this republic.

his name, that the pledge of his "fortune" might be beyond doubt. He was the last survivor of the signers, and died 14th Nov., 1832. Thomas Lynch, Junr., of South Carolina, succeeded his father, who died while at Congress in 1776, and signed the Declaration. He went abroad soon after for his health, but was lost at sea. Thomas M'Kean, a signer for Pennsylvania, was also of Irish parentage. He was successively, senator, chief justice, governor of Pennsylvania, and president of Congress. After fifty years of public life, he died on the 24th of June, 1817. Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina, was also "a signer," fought in the southern campaign, and was for three years kept prisoner in Florida. He became governor of South Carolina in 1799, and died in January, 1800.* Of these illustrious names, destined to live for ever on the New Charter of Human Freedom, Ireland should be wisely jealous, for the world's revolutions will never present such another tablet of glory to the children of men.

After the Peace of Paris, six years elapsed before the Constitution of the Federal Union could be definitely fixed and adopted. Many thought the old articles of confederation sufficient—many thought a regular Capital and Congress dangerous to liberty—many overstated the value of centrality, and alarmed ardent and ill-balanced minds into the opposite extreme. In this interim, while all the fruits of the hard-fought war of independence were in danger of being for ever lost, the true patriots of the country had heavy cares and labours

* "Lives of the Signers."

to undergo. To George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison of Virginia, to Alexander Hamilton of New York, and John Rutledge of Carolina, the fortunate establishment of the present Constitution is directly attributable.

John Rutledge, elder brother of Edward, was born in 1739, and commenced the practice of the law at Charleston, in his twenty-first year. While yet a youth he was at the head of his profession. "He burst forth at once the able lawyer and accomplished orator;" "the client in whose service he engaged was supposed to be in a fair way of gaining his cause."* His exertions mainly carried South Carolina into the Revolution. In 1775 and 1776, he sat in Congress; in 1777 and 1778, he was governor of his native State; and in 1781 and 1782, he was a commissioner from Congress to induce States south of Philadelphia to form a Federal Constitution. He was appointed, under Washington's administration, first associate judge of the Supreme Court, and survived his brother only a few months. His services in the founding of the Constitution are justly considered the crowning glory of his life.

In the Convention for ascertaining the Constitution, some of the Irish race bore part, though they were not so numerous here as in the field.

Of the thirty-six delegates by whom the Constitution of the United States was, in 1787, promulgated, six at least were Irish. Read, M'Kean, and John Rutledge are already known. The other

* Ramsay's South Carolina, vol. ii. p. 217.

Irish delegates at the adoption of the Constitution were Pierce Butler of South Carolina, another descendant of the Kilkenny clan, Daniel Carroll of Maryland, cousin to Charles, "the signer," and Thomas Fitzsimons of Pennsylvania. The latter had commanded a volunteer company during the war, and represented his adopted city in Congress during several sessions. He was much consulted on affairs of commerce by Washington and Jefferson; he was president of the Insurance Company of North America till his death, which occurred about the year 1820. These venerable men had the pleasure to see their Constitution adopted by all the thirteen original States almost as soon as it was promulgated. Immediately after, George Washington, as President, and John Adams, as Vice-President, were elected to execute its provisions and administer its powers.

The choice of a Federal capital being by courtesy left to Washington, he examined with that view the Potomac, then the central river of the republic. A farm held by Daniel Carroll was freely tendered to him, and upon that farm the plan of the Federal city was laid. The original proprietor lived to see ten Presidents inhabiting "the White House," where once the smoke of his chimney ascended in solitude over the waters of the calm Potomac.*

Under the administration of John Adams, at the beginning of the century, Congress finally re-

* The site of Baltimore was also purchased from the Carroll family in 1729. Daniel Carroll died at Washington city in 1849, at an extreme old age.

moved from Philadelphia to the new capital, which, in honour of the illustrious man, then lately deceased, was solemnly baptized WASHINGTON.

The adoption of the Federal Constitution was not the only labour of the kind devolving on those who had carried the colonies through the Revolution. Each state had to be legally organised under a republican constitution, and a body of fundamental laws and precedents were to be shaped and established. Then it was that the wise and able of America found how much easier it is to tear down than to build up, to agitate than to organise. During the presidency of Washington and Adams, nearly all the colonial charters were expanded into constitutions, or substituted by more liberal instruments, and in all such changes the Irish race had hand and part.

The state and national offices, for nearly thirty years, were chiefly filled from the revolutionary ranks. Thus Henry Knox became Washington's minister of war, and Anthony Wayne, Adams' Commander-in-chief of the army. Governorships, embassies, and judgeships were chiefly (and properly) bestowed on these venerable men.

The first governor of Pennsylvania, after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, was George Bryan, a native of Dublin. In 1789 and 1790, he was mainly instrumental in procuring the passage of a law for the gradual abolition of slavery in his adopted state. He died in January, 1791, at an advanced age.

Among the senators of the first Congress were Charles Carroll and Thomas Fitzsimons; and

among the representatives John Sullivan and George Read. The latter retired from the legislature to be Chief Justice of his own state, and the other three to enjoy the repose of private life.

In New Hampshire, the Hon. Matthew Patten, born in Ireland, 19th May, 1719, was "the first judge of probate after the Revolution." He was appointed in 1776, and continued to hold that and other judicial offices until his death, 27th August, 1795. The Hon. John Orr, of the same State, who died in 1823, was for many years a State senator, and the oldest magistrate of Hillsborough county. After the war of Independence, General Sullivan was elected senator to Congress, and remained two sessions. From 1786 to 1789 he was president (that is, "governor") of the State, which he resigned to accept the office of judge of the Federal Court. In this situation he died in 1795, in the 54th year of his age.

Even Massachusetts partially forgot its ancient prejudices against the Irish race, and, in 1788, sent John Sullivan, the second son of the Limerick schoolmaster, as one of its representatives to Congress. In 1790 he was made Attorney-general of the State, about which time he projected the Middlesex Canal, and aided in forming the State Historical Society; in 1794 the Legislature ordered his "History of the District of Maine" to be published; in 1807 he was elected governor, and re-elected in 1808. He died in the latter year, after having assisted in the settlement at Maine and written its history; after governing Massachusetts and defining its boundaries; after

having studied under the British officials, and beat them with their own weapons. The son of this eminent statesman was the Hon. William Sullivan, for many years a state senator and United States representative for Boston, whose biography has already fallen into very competent hands.*

Other states, unconscious of minor distinctions, were equally anxious to reward past services, and employ the best talents of all classes of men in the public service.

CHAPTER X.

COLONIAL PENAL LAWS—RISE OF CATHOLIC MISSIONS—WASHINGTON'S REPLY TO THE CATHOLIC ADDRESS—ST. MARY'S COLLEGE.

THE successful assertion of American Independence drew large numbers of emigrants from Europe. From Ireland, in the first decade, the increase was not very visible, as that nation enjoyed comparative freedom towards the end of the century, and, with freedom, a larger share of prosperity than had previously fallen to its lot. But the breaking out of the French war in 1793, the failure of the rising of 1798, and the degrading Legislative Union of 1800, had deprived many of bread, and all of liberty at home, and made the mechanical as well as the agricultural class embark in multitudes to cross the Atlantic.

* "Public Men of the Revolution," by the Hon. Wm. Sullivan, LL.D. (Sketch of the author, by John T. S. Sullivan.) Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1847.

Hitherto the Irish had colonized, sowed, and reaped, fought, spoke, and legislated in the New World—if not always in proportion to their numbers, yet always to the measure of their educational resources. Now, they are about to plant a new emblem—the Cross—and a new institution—the Church—throughout the American continent; for the faith of their fathers they do not leave after them; nay, rather, wheresoever six Irish roof-trees rise, there will you find the Cross of Christ reared over all, and Celtic piety and Celtic enthusiasm, all tears and sighs, kneeling before it.

Whatever thou art, O reader! do not despise the institution, or the emblem, or the agent. If the creed is not yours, it was Fenelon's, Francis Xavier's, and Vincent de Paul's. Nor wonder that we, who regard the Church Catholic as the pillar and ground of all truth, should think its plantation in America the greatest labour of the Irish Hercules. We can sympathize with a Rutledge and a Carroll in council; with Sullivan and Wayne upon the field; with Barry and M'Donough on the quarter-deck; but even more, and more proudly, do we sympathise with the laborious layman and the poor priest, coming together in the backwoods to offer to God the ancient sacrifice, where the interwoven foliage is the rude screen, the rock the altar, the soaring pine the tower of the holy place, and the wayside well the fountain of salvation.

The first Catholic missions had been those of the Jesuits among the red men. Marquette, Joliet,

Brebeuf, Lallemand, Rasles, and Marest, all Frenchmen and all Jesuits, were the first standard-bearers of the Cross, over the blue breadth of the great lakes, down the yellow torrent of the Mississippi, among the homes of all the Indian race, from the Algonquins of Quebec to the Cherokees of the Ozark mountains. But these missions and their missionaries had passed away; and though the Holy Cross still gleamed upon the frontier of population, its shadow fell on no village square, but rather its arms, on either side, but pointed to desolation.

The English and Dutch colonies, planted in the very noon-day of "the Reformation," inherited all its virulence against priests and Jesuits. The so-called freemen of New England sought Rasle in his chapel by the Norridgewock, and slew him on its threshold. Penn forbade Mass to be celebrated in his Sylvania, and, in 1741, a Catholic clergyman was hanged in New York for entering that province contrary to law. The French and German emigrants, of the midland and southern States, did sometimes keep a concealed priest among them, but, under God, it was Irish emigration which, overcoming the malice of the bigot and the injustice of the laws, gave freedom to the altar and security to its ministers.

The earliest notices of Irish Catholics in America that we have found were those of Maryland and Pennsylvania. The Carroll family emigrated before the year 1700, and settled in Prince George's county. As at the revolution of 1688, Catholics were disfranchised, and their religious rites pro-

scribed, clergymen could only officiate in private houses, and the fathers of the Carrolls had chapels under their own roofs. In such a chapel-house was born John Carroll, the first Bishop and Archbishop of the United States, on the 8th of January, 1735. The first Catholic church that we find in Pennsylvania, after Penn's suppression of them in 1708, "was connected with the house of a Miss Elizabeth M'Gawley, an Irish lady who, with several of her tenantry, settled on land on the road leading from Nicetown to Frankfort." Near the site of this ancient sanctuary stood a tomb inscribed, "John Michael Brown, ob. 15 Dec. A.D. 1750.—R. I. P." He had been a priest residing there *incognito*. In 1734, Governor Gordon and council prohibited the erection of a Catholic church in Walnut-street; and, in 1736, a private house having been taken at the corner of Second and Chestnut-streets for the same object, it was again prohibited. St. Joseph's chapel had, however, been opened in a more retired position in 1733; and in 1763, St. Mary's church was erected. About this time, Protestant prejudice began to abate in Pennsylvania, as well it might when the Catholics could reckon the Moylans, Barrys, Meases, and Fitzsimons among their congregation.

In 1756, by a special act, the Catholics of Maryland were assessed for tithes to support the pastors of the Protestant denominations; while, in the very same session, an act was introduced to prevent Catholic clergymen holding lands for church purposes. The latter, however, was rejected. In 1770, St. Peter's church in Balti-

more was founded, and in 1774 there were but nineteen clergymen in Maryland, all of whom were Jesuits. In 1784, Father John Carroll, of the same order, was made first Bishop of the United States (the colonies had been attached to the Apostolic Vicariate of London) and "administered the sacrament of confirmation for the first time" in free America.* In 1785, he estimated the Catholic population of the Republic—"in Maryland 16,000; in Pennsylvania over 7,000, and, as far as information could be obtained, in other States about 1,500." However, the local statistics of the States show this estimate to be quite too low. Instead of 25,000 Catholics in the old thirteen States in 1785, 100,000 would be nearer the mark. The marvellous increase of the Church may be estimated by the fact, that in 1838 Bishop England estimated the Catholic population at 1,200,000, which in half a century would be a twelve-fold multiplication of the original number.

Throughout the war of the Revolution the Catholic Irish population continued to bear their full share in its dangers and councils. In 1774, Dr. Carroll and Charles Carroll were sent, with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Chase, on an embassy to Canada, which had the effect of securing the neutrality of the French Canadian population. If the bigotry of the local legislatures were not so fresh in the memory of the brave *habitans*, there is little doubt but they would have espoused the cause of the Revolution. But they remembered the martyrdom of Rasles, and the priest executed

* Campbell's Life of Archbishop Carroll.

at New York in 1741. Even while the commissioners were in Montreal, they received a copy of the address of the Continental Congress to the British people, stigmatizing Lord North for establishing in Canada "a religion which had deluged their island in blood, and diffused impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and *rebellion* (!) through every part of the world." This foolish piece of rhetoric rendered it impossible for the ambassadors to secure the native Canadian population to their side, whom, however, they persuaded to stand neutral in the contest.

In 1784 the first Catholic congregation was assembled in Boston by the Abbé La Poitre, a French chaplain; and, in 1788, they obtained the old French church in School-street. The present cathedral was dedicated, in 1803, by Bishop Carroll, assisted by the venerable Dr. Cheverus, afterwards Cardinal of Bordeaux, in France. This was the beginning of the Church in the east.

The conduct of the Catholic Irish during the war drew from George Washington, after his election as President, the graceful acknowledgment, in reply to the address given below:

“ ADDRESS
OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

“ Sir—We have been long impatient to testify our joy and unbounded confidence on your being called, by an unanimous vote, to the first station of a country in which that unanimity could not

have been obtained without the previous merit of unexampled services, of eminent wisdom, and unblemished virtue. Our congratulations have not reached you sooner, because our scattered situation prevented the communication and the collecting of those sentiments which warmed every breast. But the delay has furnished us with the opportunity, not merely of presaging the happiness to be expected under your administration, but of bearing testimony to that which we experience already. It is your peculiar talent, in war and in peace, to afford security to those who commit their protection into your hands. In war, you shield them from the ravages of armed hostility; in peace, you establish public tranquillity by the justice and moderation, not less than by the vigour of your government. By example as well as by vigilance, you extend the influence of laws on the manners of our fellow-citizens. You encourage respect for religion, and inculcate, by words and actions, that principle on which the welfare of nations so much depends—that a superintending Providence governs the events of the world, and watches over the conduct of men. Your exalted maxims and unwearied attention to the moral and physical improvement of our country have produced already the happiest effects. Under your administration, America is animated with zeal for the attainment and encouragement of useful literature; she improves her agriculture, extends her commerce, and acquires with foreign nations a dignity unknown to her before. From these happy events, in which none can feel a

warmer interest than ourselves, we derive additional pleasure by recollecting that you, sir, have been the principal instrument to effect so rapid a change in our political situation. This prospect of national prosperity is peculiarly pleasing to us on another account; because, whilst our country preserves her freedom and independence, we shall have a well-founded title to claim from her justice the equal rights of citizenship as the price of our blood spilt under your eyes, and of our common exertions for her defence under your auspicious conduct—rights rendered more dear to us by the remembrance of former hardships. When we pray for the preservation of them where they have been granted, and expect the full extension of them from the justice of those States which still restrict them; when we solicit the protection of Heaven over our common country, we neither omit, nor can omit, recommending your preservation to the singular care of Divine Providence; because we conceive that no human means are so available to promote the welfare of the United States as the prolongation of your health and life, in which are included the energy of your example, the wisdom of your counsels, and the persuasive eloquence of your virtues.

“ In behalf of the Roman Catholic clergy,

“ J. CARROLL.

“ In behalf of the Roman Catholic laity,

“ CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton,

“ DANIEL CARROLL,

“ THOMAS FITZSIMONS,

“ DOMINICK LYNCH.”

THE ANSWER.

“ TO THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA.

“ GENTLEMEN—While I now receive with much satisfaction your congratulations on my being called, by an unanimous vote, to the first station of my country, I cannot but duly notice your politeness in offering an apology for the unavoidable delay. As that delay has given you an opportunity of realising, instead of anticipating the benefits of the general government, you will do me the justice to believe that your testimony of the increase of the public prosperity enhances the pleasure which I would otherwise have experienced from your affectionate address.

“ I feel that my conduct in war and in peace has met with more general approbation than could reasonably have been expected ; and I find myself disposed to consider that fortunate circumstance in a great degree resulting from the able support and extraordinary candour of my fellow-citizens of all denominations.

“ The prospect of national prosperity now before us is truly animating, and ought to excite the exertions of all good men to establish and secure the happiness of their country in the permanent duration of its freedom and independence. America, under the smiles of a Divine Providence, the protection of a good government, and the cultivation of manners, morals, and piety, cannot fail of attaining an uncommon degree of eminence

in literature, commerce, agriculture, improvements at home, and respectability abroad.

" As mankind become more liberal, they will be more apt to allow that all those who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community are equally entitled to the protection of civil government. I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality. And I presume that your fellow-citizens will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their revolution and the establishment of their government, or the important assistance which they received from a nation in which the Roman Catholic faith is professed.

" I thank you, gentlemen, for your kind concern for me. While my life and my health shall continue, in whatever situation I may be, it shall be my constant endeavour to justify the favourable sentiments which you are pleased to express of my conduct. And may the members of your society in America, animated alone by the pure spirit of Christianity, and still conducting themselves as the faithful subjects of our free government, enjoy every temporal and spiritual felicity.

" G. WASHINGTON."

The necessity of a native clergy, especially in the diocese of Baltimore, was early felt. In 1791, Bishop Carroll founded St. Mary's College, and, in 1804, with some of the laity, obtained a charter for Baltimore College, which was first opened in Mulberry-street in that city. In 1805, St. Mary's

was much improved, and a handsome Gothic church was added to the college. This is the *Alma Mater* of the Church in America.*

CHAPTER XI.

IRISH SERVICES TO EDUCATION AND SCIENCE IN AMERICA—ALLISON—CHARLES THOMPSON—DAVID RAMSAY—FULTON—COLLES—ADRAIN—MATTHEW CAREY.

AMONG the first educational institutions of America, after its independence, was Pennsylvania College, over which Dr. Allison, was chosen provost. He was a native of the north of Ireland, and had spent the best part of his life as a teacher in New London, New York, and subsequently, Philadelphia. He is frequently mentioned in the biographies of the “Men of the Revolution” as their master—as one who had a singular insight into character, and judgment in the management of pupils.

Charles Thompson’s version of the Septuagint is a worthy landmark of colonial learning. He was a pupil of Allison’s, and in his old age returned to the studies of his youth with renewed ardour. Every literary project of his times found in him a willing and able auxiliary.

David Ramsay, the son of Irish parents, was born at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 2nd April, 1749.

* Among the public schools of Baltimore, the “Hibernian Free School,” founded by Robert Oliver, a native of Ireland, is, to this day, the most considerable and conspicuous.

He settled early in South Carolina, and was one of the first advocates there for the Revolution. In 1782, he was sent to Congress, and presided over that body for a year. In 1796, he published his History of South Carolina ; in 1801, his Life of Washington ; and, in 1808, his History of the United States. The British government prohibited this last work from being sold in England or Ireland, a high compliment to its truth and power. On the 8th May, 1815, Dr. Ramsay, in the discharge of his medical duties, was stabbed by a maniac, and almost instantly expired. He is buried at Charleston.

Governor Sullivan of Massachusetts, the projector of the Middlesex Canal, and Governor De Witt Clinton, James Logan, and Bishop Berkely, deserve special mention in this place ; but men with such connexions are not likely to have their honours mildew. We prefer to dwell rather upon the merits of men less known to the public memory, but not less influential in affecting the present prosperity of America.

Christopher Colles arrived from Ireland on these shores about the time Fulton was born. In 1772, he delivered a series of lectures "on the subject of Lock Navigation" at Philadelphia. "He was the first person," says De Witt Clinton, "who suggested to the government of the State (New York) the canals and improvements on the Ontario route. Unfortunately for him, and perhaps for the public," adds the same authority, "he was generally considered as a visionary projector, and his plans were sometimes treated with ridicule,

and frequently viewed with distrust."* In 1784, 1785, 1786, and for several successive years, he petitioned the Legislature of that State on the importance and practicability of uniting the western lakes to the Atlantic. He was probably the author of the letters signed "Hibernicus" on the same subject, which were published at New York about the beginning of this century. In 1774, he proposed to supply New York with water by aqueducts, such as now bring in the Croton, and of which he exhibited models at public lectures. During the last war, he was "the projector and attendant of the telegraph erected on castle Clinton." He died in obscurity and poverty, while others were growing famous and wealthy upon the stolen ideas of his failing intellect.

Robert Fulton was born of poor Irish parents, at Little Britain, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, in 1765. He early displayed artist tastes, and painted portraits for a subsistence in Philadelphia, before he was quite a man. In 1786, he went to London, lived with Benjamin West, and took out several patents; in 1796, he went to Paris, and resided with the Hon. Joel Barlow till 1808, where, in 1803, after many delays and mishaps, he launched the first boat propelled by steam power on the Seine. In 1806, he returned to America, and ran a more complete model boat on the Hudson. From this time forth, his fortune needed no patron's aid; but he did not live long

* O'Reilly's History of Rochester. Mr. Charles King's Memoir of the Croton Aqueduct.

to enjoy its sweets. He died 23rd February, 1815, in his 44th year—too soon for his country, though not too soon for history.

It is not now possible for us to estimate how much of the growth and greatness of America is due to the canals of Colles and the steamboats of Fulton. In fifty years this nation has increased its territory ten-fold, its population seven-fold, and its wealth a thousand-fold. Too seldom do we remember, when borne triumphantly on the tide of all this prosperous increase, that to these humble, studious men, stout-hearted wrestlers with formidable problems, patient bearers, for truth's sake, of ridicule and reproach, we owe so much of all we most boast of and most enjoy.

Among the most distinguished mathematicians of this continent, Robert Adrain holds a conspicuous place. He was born in Carrickfergus, 30th September, 1775, and was, in 1798, a United Irishman. After the failure of that memorable insurrection, he emigrated to America, poor and undistinguished. His success on these shores we transcribe from the record made by another hand :

“ Robert was the eldest of five children, and lost both his parents in his fifteenth year. He was an excellent mathematician and linguist, and taught school at Ballycarry when only in his sixteenth year. Mr. Mortimer, a gentleman of great wealth and influence in Cumber, engaged him as an instructor of his children ; but when the Irish people made an effort in 1798 to shake off their ancient oppressors, Robert Adrain took the command of a company of the United Irish, while Mr.

Mortimer, being an officer of the English authorities, was offering a reward of fifty pounds for his capture. At the battle of Saintfield, Mr. Mortimer received a mortal blow. But it so happened that Mr. Adrain, having refused his assent to some measure proposed in his division of the army, received a dangerous wound in the back from one of his own men the day before the battle, and was reported to be dead. This stopped further search after him, and after several narrow escapes from the hands of Ireland's enemies, he found a refuge in New York, then suffering from the yellow fever. He first taught an academy at Princeton, New Jersey, then became principal of the York County Academy, next took charge of the academy at Reading, and became a valuable contributor to Baron's 'Mathematical Correspondent,' and afterwards editor of the *Analyst*, which he continued for several years in Philadelphia.

"In 1810 he was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Queen's (now Rutger's) College, New Brunswick, had the degree of Doctor of Laws conferred on him, and was soon after elected a member of the philosophical societies in Europe and America. He edited the third American edition of 'Hutton's Course of Mathematics,' and made important corrections, adding many valuable notes, and an elementary treatise on Descriptive Geometry.

"On the decease of Dr. Kemp, Dr. Adrain was elected, in 1813, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Columbia College, New York; soon after which he published a paper on

the figure and magnitude of the earth, and gravity, which obtained for him great celebrity in Europe. He contributed to the periodicals of the day, edited the *Mathematical Diary* in 1825, and was looked up to as having no superior among the mathematicians of America. The ease and facility with which he imparted instruction, his fluency in reading the Greek and Latin authors, and extensive acquaintance with general literature, his social disposition, strong understanding, and high conversational powers, caused the students and professors greatly to regret his resignation of his office in 1826. The senior mathematical class had his portrait taken by the distinguished Irish artist, Ingham—an admirable likeness.

"After leaving New York, he held for several years a professorship in the University of Pennsylvania, of which institution he was vice-provost. Towards the close of his life, his memory and other faculties of his mind suffered decay. Through life he was a sincere Christian, and few theologians could better explain the more difficult passages of Scripture. His strong and powerful intellect, and pure and fervent piety, were cited as a refutation of the sentiment that the study of the abstruse sciences tends to infidelity."*

Nor must we omit to mention here the name

* M'Kenzie's "Illustrious Irishmen," Part ii. In our own time we are not wholly unrepresented in Irish science. Henry O'Reilly, a native of Cavan, still in the prime of life, has been the most active and successful perfector of the electric telegraph in North America.

of Matthew Carey, one of the first American writers on political economy. Mr. Carey was born in Ireland in the year 1761, and removed to Philadelphia about the period of the Revolution. From 1780 till 1830 he was an unwearied student of questions affecting trade, emigration, banking, wages, public schools, benevolent societies, and the public health. He was, we believe, the first to propose a monument to Robert Fulton. He was also a consistent friend of liberty everywhere, of which his "*Vindicæ Hiberniæ*," "*Olive Branch*," and "*Case of the Greeks*," remain as ample evidence. He died at a good old age in Philadelphia, having reared up a numerous family full of hereditary ability, who seem destined still further to dignify the name of Carey.*

CHAPTER XII.

WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT—PARTY ORGANISATION INTO FEDERALISTS AND REPUBLICANS—INFLUENCE OF JEFFERSON OVER THE IRISH COMMUNITY—THE UNITED IRISH ORGANISATION IN AMERICA—ADAMS, PRESIDENT—THE ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS—THE FEDERAL RIOTS—HON. RUFUS KING.

On the 30th of April, 1789, Washington opened the first Congress by an address delivered in person; which was the custom until President Jeffer-

* Henry C. Carey, the distinguished political economist, is the son of Matthew Carey. Many of his essays on wages, trade, &c., have been translated in France, Germany, and Sweden.

son adopted the form of the written "Message," still adhered to.

During the second term of Washington's presidency, the fact that there were two parties radically opposed to each other became apparent. John Adams, Vice-President, and Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of State, headed the one which was in favour of a national bank, a high tariff, and strong powers of central control. Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and their friends, were utterly opposed to these principles of government. The republicans accused the federalists of British predilections, and the federalists accused them of "French principles." Washington was believed to be inclined to the former, but with excellent temper and feeling, he maintained in office an unbiassed and equable tone, preserving till the last act of his life the respectful confidence of all parties.

Jefferson's principles exercised an early and a permanent influence on the Irish citizens. He was strongly anti-British, so were they ; he favoured the largest toleration, so did they ; he was master of a laconic, powerful style, which they intuitively admired. He practised in his own person great republican simplicity, unlike the official reserve of Washington and Adams. He had a bold tongue, a warm heart, and a strong head—qualities which the children of Ireland have always respected and confided in.

The great majority of the Irish settlers and their descendants were, therefore, Jeffersonian Democrats. But the chiefs of their communities

were by no means unanimous. The Carrolls, Harpers, and Rutledges were Federalists, the Sullivans and Butlers, Democrats. The numbers inclined to the Oracle of Monticello, and, after the administration of John Adams, became] the warmest partisans of democracy.

The administration of John Adams began in 1797, and is remarkable to us, in the first place, for the events connected with "the United Irishmen," which happened in his time. Soon after the formation of the society in Ireland, a similar one sprung up in America. Its head quarters were at Philadelphia, where Matthew Carey and other good men gave it aid and impulse. The publications of the Irish society were reprinted there so early as 1794, funds were collected, and arms promised. Wolfe Tone, flying in despair from Ireland, returned from his "New Jersey farm" to Paris to make an effort for French aid. The "French party," as the Democrats were called, and the friends of Ireland were identical here, and in 1797 "the American Society of United Irishmen" was a formidable body.

In 1798, on pretence of danger from this and other sources, President Adams suggested and obtained the famous "Alien Law." By this law the President could order any alien he deemed "dangerous" to quit the country; others were to be licensed to remain during his pleasure, and the neglect to get licensed was an offence punishable by three years' imprisonment and perpetual disqualification for citizenship. Fourteen years' residence was also the time fixed as necessary to

naturalization. This law having been severely commented on by the press, the President procured the passage of "the Sedition Law," making it a seditious libel to reflect on the conduct or motives of the Congress or President. These measures violently inflamed the country, and, more than any other cause, organised the two antagonist parties. The Federalists adhered to Mr. Adams, the Democrats to Mr. Jefferson. The adopted citizens generally joined the latter, whose principles, indeed, were those most favourable to the new-comer and the settler.

Among the first arrests under the sedition law were Dr. James Smith and Mr. Burk, of New York, the one a citizen, the other "an alien." They were publishers of an opposition paper called *The Time-piece*; but so violent was the spirit of proscription, that Burk thought it advisable to escape from the country, after which the prosecution against Smith was dropped.*

Mr. Duane, Dr. Reynolds, and other naturalized citizens of Philadelphia, vigorously agitated a repeal of these objectionable laws. The former was frequently in personal danger from his opponents, and the doctor was removed from his situation as physician to the dispensary. In 1798, "the Alien Riot," or "Federal Riot," occurred at St. Mary's Church in Philadelphia. The opponents of the law having brought a petition to the church doors soliciting the signatures of the congregation, were attacked and badly beaten by the Federalists, headed by a citizen named Gallagher. A trial of

* History of the Adams Administration, p. 225.

the rioters was had, but the jury disagreed, and the case was dismissed.

At this time Sir Robert Liston, the British minister, was considered to be on more intimate terms with Mr. Adams than was consistent with a sound American policy. The minister's letters, so far as published, certainly countenance the charge. He seems to have been less an ambassador to, than an adviser of the government. In one of his letters to the governor-general of Canada (dated 23rd May, 1799), he says, in reference to the Federal riots, "The conduct of some of these gentlemen (the Federalists) being shamefully calumniated by some of the popular newspapers, they have ventured to take the law into their own hands, and to punish one or two of the printers (by a smart flogging)—a circumstance which has given rise to much animosity, to threats, and to a commencement of armed associations on the side of the Democrats (particularly the United Irishmen), and some apprehend that the affair may lead to civil war."* The wish, perhaps, "was father to the thought" of the British minister.

The Irish democratic feeling was further influenced against Mr. Adams' administration by the following circumstances. The elder Emmet, Dr. Macneven, and several of their companions in the Irish revolt of 1798, having been arrested by surprise at Bond's in Dublin, were consigned close prisoners to Fort George in Scotland. In 1799 and 1800, the British government agreed to

* Administration of Adams, p. 382.

let them go, provided they agreed to quit the British dominions for ever. Having at length arranged the terms, Thomas Addis Emmet, for himself and his compatriots, applied to Rufus King, our minister at London, for passports, but was inhospitably refused by that personage, who added that "there were republicans enough in America." Emmet and Macneven were forced to spend three years in France; Sampson was imprisoned in Hamburg on British suggestion, and Robert Emmet returned from his brother's side, to make an ineffectual attempt at insurrection, and to perish, at the age of twenty-five, on the scaffold. A few years afterwards, Thomas Addis Emmet, then the leader of the New York Bar, by a striking narration of this circumstance, raised a feeling in America against Mr. King (then a candidate for the vice-presidency) which politically extinguished that able but aristocratic statesman.*

CHAPTER XIII.

JEFFERSON, PRESIDENT—THE REFUGEES OF 1798.
SAMPSON AND MACNEVEN—T. A. EMMET—THE
BROTHERS BINNS—BURR AND BLENNERHASSET—
THE RIGHT OF SEARCH—MADISON PRESIDENT—
JOHN SMILIE, UNITED STATES SENATOR—WAR.

IN 1801, Jefferson as President, and Aaron Burr as Vice-President, were elected to the seats of Adams and Pinckney. In the ensuing session of

* These letters, from the *New York Evening Post*, are reprinted in Madden's Memoir of T. A. Emmet.

Congress, a bill for repealing the Alien and Sedition laws was introduced by John Smilie, passed and approved. Some other evidences of a total change of policy were had. All the New England States, as they are called, voted for Adams; New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, held the balance, and decided for Jefferson.

The United Irishmen in British prisons, or in European exile, perceiving this change of parties, applied for passports to the new American ministers abroad, and received them. Thomas Addis Emmet and Dr. Macneven came to New York, where they were soon after joined by William Sampson. The son of Wolfe Tone entered the topographical service of the United States. John Caldwell settled on a farm beside the Hudson. Dr. Sweetman made his home in Georgia; and the brothers Binns located at Philadelphia. The influence of these men upon the policy of America and the fortunes of their poorer countrymen was, during their time, most salutary.

William Sampson was a barrister of fine attainments, great humour, and unconquerable buoyancy of mind. He was a native of Londonderry, and had reached his fortieth year, when, in 1807, he settled in New York. Here he renewed his professional practice, and soon became distinguished at the bar. In 1808, he published a collection of his miscellaneous writings, chiefly culled from the *Press* and *Star*, the United Irish organs. To these he added, in subsequent editions some sketches of American society, admirable for their wit and pathos. The book, though a mere

collection of *disjecta membra*, became a great favourite with the public, as did the author in person with all those whose acquaintance he made.

Macneven, a native of Galway and a Roman Catholic, had represented Gort in the first Catholic Board. He also was in the prime of life, an accomplished chemist and physician. After becoming a citizen, he joined with the Federal or Whig party, and continued for nearly half-a-century to exercise much social influence in New York. He was "President of the Friends of Ireland," which co-operated with the Irish Catholic Association, and in 1834 he revived the society, to co-operate with the Repeal agitation. He did not live to see the failure of his hopes in this last respect. His "Pieces of Irish History" is his sole memorial to his race on this continent; as yet he has no other monument.*

The most distinguished of the refugees was Thomas Addis Emmet, born in 1764, in the city of Cork. Educated at Edinburgh, he had for class-fellows Sir James Mackintosh, afterwards Lord Advocate of Scotland, and Benjamin Constant, who became a tribune under the French Republic. He spent three years in Edinburgh, and his popularity may be imagined from the fact that he was president of no less than five college societies at the same time. Leaving college, he

* Some funds were collected in New York, several years ago, for the purpose of erecting a monument to his memory, and placed in the hands of Mr. Robert Emmet. Probably they were insufficient.

visited the Continent, spending two years on his tour. He observed institutions with the eye of a philosopher, and analyzed their conditions with the keenness of a politician.

On his return to Ireland, Mr. Emmet passed through London, where he met his old school-fellow, Mackintosh. In their conversation, that eminent man advised him strongly to choose law as his profession, assuring him that if he did so he was destined to rise. On his return to Dublin, he found his eldest brother, Temple, dead, and soon after entered himself as a law student, and, in 1790, was duly admitted. The succeeding year he prosecuted, on behalf of James Napper Tandy, the Lord Lieutenant and council for issuing an illegal proclamation ! This bold step reminds one of the old adage of warring with the devil, and holding the court in his own dominions. Nothing resulted from it favourable to the national cause, except the evidence of Emmet's legal ability. The government were astonished at the boldness, the research, and acuteness of the young advocate ; and a proposition was immediately made to him of judicial preferment ; but this he as immediately declined.

In 1804, he reached New York, with the *prestige* of defeat heavy upon him. But he soon made his powers felt at the American bar. Story, Sullivan, Kent, and Jones, his contemporaries, have spoken enthusiastically of his virtues and abilities.

His style of pleading is well described by Charles Gliddon Haines, of New Hampshire—

himself an eminent lawyer—in his biographical sketch of Mr. Emmet :

“ Helvetius remarks,” says Haines, “ that the sun of glory only shines upon the tomb of greatness. His observation is too often true, but facts and living proofs sometimes contradict it. Mr. Emmet walks on in life amid the eulogiums, the admiration, and the enthusiastic regard of a great and enlightened community. Without the glare and influence of public office, without titles and dignities, who fills a wider space, who commands more respect than Thomas Addis Emmet ? Like a noble and simple column, he stands among us proudly pre-eminent, destitute of pretensions, destitute of vanity, and destitute of envy. In a letter which I recently received from a friend who resides in the western part of the Union, a lawyer of eminence, he speaks of the New York bar. ‘ Thomas Addis Emmet,’ says he, ‘ is the great luminary, whose light even crosses the western mountains. His name rings down the valley of the Mississippi, and we hail his efforts with a kind of local pride.’ ”

“ If to draw the character of Homer needs the genius of the immortal bard himself ; if to portray the powers of Demosthenes requires the gigantic intellect of the great Athenian orator, Mr. Emmet has nothing to expect from me. In presenting the features of his mind, I shall describe them from the impressions they make on me. I paint from the original. I catch the lineaments of the subject as living nature presents them.

“ The mind of Thomas Addis Emmet is of the

highest order. His penetration is deep, his views comprehensive, his distinctions remarkably nice. His powers of investigation are vigorous and irresistible. If there be anything in a subject, he will go to the bottom. He probes boldly, reaches the lowest depths by his researches, analyses everything, and embraces the whole ground. He may be said to have a mind well adapted to profound and powerful investigation. In the next place, he has great comprehension. He sees a subject in all its bearings and relations. He traces out all its various operations. He begins at the centre, and diverges until it becomes necessary again to return to the centre. As a reasoner—a bare, strict reasoner—Mr. Emmet would always be placed in an elevated rank. No matter how dry, how difficult, how repulsive the topic—no matter what may be its intricacies and perplexities, if any man can unfold and amplify it, he is equal to the task.

* * * * *

“I have spoken of his talent for deep and rigid investigation. I will now again recur to another feature of his mind—his talent for reasoning on whatever data or premises he relies on. All the illustrations and all the analogies which can well occur to the mind, are readily and adroitly arranged in his arguments. He makes the most of his cause, and often makes too much—giving a front that is so palpably over-formidable, that men of the plainest sense perceive the fruits of a powerful mind, without being at all convinced.”

Thus spoke an American of his mind. Hear

now an Irishman on the qualities of his heart : "In men who are 'fit for treason, stratagem, and spoils,' the passions and mental qualities we expect to find are ambition, vanity, malignity, restlessness, or recklessness of mind. Were these the characteristics of Thomas Addis Emmet ? The question, with perfect safety to the memory of Emmet, might be put to any surviving political opponent of his of common honesty, who was acquainted with those times, and the men who were prominent actors in them. Emmet's ambition was to see his country well governed and its people treated like human beings, destined and capacitated for the enjoyment of civil and religious freedom. For himself he sought no pre-eminence, no popular applause ; he shrank from observation where his merits, in spite of his retiring habits, forced them into notice. No man could say that Emmet was ambitious.

"Emmet's vanity was of a peculiar kind. He was vain of nothing but his name ; it was associated with the brightest of the by-gone hopes of Irish genius, and with the fairest promises of the revival of the latter in the dawning powers of a singularly gifted brother. No man could say with truth that vanity or selfishness was the mental infirmity of Emmet.

"No malignant act was ever imputed to him. The natural kindness of his disposition was manifested in his looks, in his tone of voice. Those who came in contact with him felt that his benignity of disposition, his purity of heart and mind were such, 'and the elements so mixed in

him, that nature might stand up and say to all the world, this was a man.' Malignity and Emmet were as dissimilar in nature as in name."*

He died of paralysis, which seized him in court, in 1826, and the finest cenotaph in the Union marks where his body is laid in St. Paul's church-yard, New York. Montgomery's ashes repose in the same ground.

The brothers, John and Benjamin Binns, settled at Philadelphia. They were natives of Dublin, of the Moravian Church. Both were educated men, and early devoted their talents to the cause of human liberty. In 1798, John was tried at Maidstone, with Arthur O'Connor and Father Coigley, for treason. The evidence against all but Coigley being deemed insufficient, he was executed, and the rest escaped. Soon after, John Binns was re-arrested for treasonable practices, and confined to Gloucester jail. Here he remained for nearly three years, and in 1801 was permitted to come to this country. In March, 1802, we find him publishing the *Republican Argus* at Northumberland, Pennsylvania; and in 1807 he issued, in Philadelphia, the *Democratic Press*, for several years the most influential party organ in the Union. For twenty years he has filled the office of alderman of that city, where he survives at a patriarchal age, in the enjoyment of all his fine mental powers.†

* Haines' Sketch of Thomas Addis Emmet. Madden's "United Irishmen."

† For details of the eventful and interesting life of Mr. Binns, see *American Celt*, vol. ii. No. 12 (Boston, 1851).

Aaron Burr, failing of a re-election in 1805, engaged in a conspiracy to separate the Southern States from the Union, which has made his name so peculiarly memorable. In this attempt he deeply compromised Mr. Herman Blennerhassett, a native of Kerry, Ireland, who had purchased an island in the Mississippi, and there retired with an elegant and lovely lady, led the life of an uxorious philosopher. Burr, gifted beyond most men with the fascinating powers of persuasion, not only seduced the citizen from his duty, but the wife from her continence. In the memorable state trial of 1807, Blennerhassett, though true bills were found against him, was acquitted; but he returned to a desolate and dishonoured home. She who had given the enchantment to his island was fled—fled with the very “friend” for whom he had risked life and forfeited fortune.

“The trail of the serpent was over it all.”

The experience of Herman Blennerhassett should be for ever a warning to those who are tempted by plausible speculators to violate the laws of their country or the duties of their citizenship.*

Under Jefferson’s second presidency, George Clinton of New York was Vice-President. The Tripoli war ended in a satisfactory peace, Ohio was admitted as a State, and Louisiana, lately purchased from the French, taken into the Union.

* Burr was discharged on the ground that the evidence was insufficient. Mrs. Blennerhassett, his victim, died some short time since in New York, in great poverty, and was buried by the charity of some former Irish friends.

Towards the close of Jefferson's second term, "the right of search," in a few instances exercised by French, and in many by English ships, became the great foreign question; but it was reserved for his successor to settle that dispute.

In 1808, Madison succeeded to the presidency, and for three years exhausted negotiation in attempts at a peaceable solution. Between 1803 and 1810 nine hundred American ships had been seized, searched, or detained. In 1811, Madison sent his "war message" to Congress, the army was raised to 35,000 men, the navy equipped for active service, and a loan of 11,000,000 dols. raised for the purposes of the war. In February, 1812, John Henry communicated to the President that, in 1809, he had been employed by the Governor of Canada in a secret intrigue to separate New England from the Union. The documents connected with Henry's disclosure stimulated the war spirit, and in February, 1812, hostilities actually commenced. General Dearborn, of Massachusetts, was appointed commander-in-chief; Pinckney, major-general; and Wilkinson, Hull, Hampton, and Bloomfield, the first brigadiers.

The chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs at this time was John Smilie, a native of Ireland. He was born in Newtownards, county Down, and had fought in the Revolutionary war. From that time "he had never been out of the public service," until the hour of his death. In 1802 he had brought in the bill repealing the Adams Alien Law, and, in 1812,

he reported a bill empowering the President to raise a temporary army for the war with Great Britain. On the last day of that year, at the age of seventy-four, he died at Washington, leaving a character second to none of his contemporaries for fidelity and usefulness in the public service.

The successor of John Smilie was John Caldwell Calhoun, whose province it was to vindicate the report of his venerable predecessor. Mr. Calhoun was the son of Patrick Calhoun, an emigrant from Donegal, in Ireland, to South Carolina, born 18th March, 1782. At that time Mr. Calhoun was in the meridian of his fame, and of his whole powers of mind. His defence of the war, in reply to John Randolph, placed him among the first men of his generation, a position which he justly held till the close of his long public life.*

The war now declared should necessarily be a naval as well as a military struggle, and a natural anxiety for the result thrilled the hearts of all Americans on receiving the "war message" of Madison.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE IRISH IN THE AMERICAN NAVY DURING THE WAR
OF 1812-15—ORIGIN OF THE WAR—CAPTAIN
BOYLE'S CRUISE—CAPTAIN BLAKELY—COMMO-
DORES SHAW, M'DONOUGH, AND STEWART.

THE war had its origin in aggressions which had become intolerable. American seamen were pressed and American ships searched in British

* "National Intelligencer," 31st Dec., 1812.

waters, and on the high seas, at least a thousand times, before President Madison sent his "war message" to Congress, and when at last war was proclaimed, the favourite motto of many a ship was "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights."

The West Indian waters, being the confine of the two fleets, was the scene of some of the first and fiercest of the sea-fights of this war. One of the most memorable of these was the action fought between Captain Boyle's ship, the *Comet* (twelve guns and 120 men), and three British vessels, convoyed by a Portuguese ship-of-war. The Portuguese ship carried twenty thirty-two pounders; the British twenty guns between them. By superior sailing and manœuvring the *Comet* cut off the British ships, and disabled them one by one. Two of them he carried as prizes into Pernambuco, the third foundered, and the Portuguese retreated under cover of the night. On the same cruise Captain Boyle captured the British ship *Aberdeen*, of eight guns, and two others of ten guns each. He then returned to the United States, escaped the British squadron in the *Chesapeake*, and reached Baltimore in safety. Captain Boyle was of Irish birth, but his after career is unknown to us.*

An Irishman, Captain Leavins, of the trading schooner *Santee*, of Charleston, being captured at sea in August, was sent in his own vessel, under charge of a British crew, to Bermuda. Rising singly on them at night, he wounded two badly,

* "Sketches of the Late War" (Rutland, Vermont), 1815, p. 330.

and compelled the other three to work the vessel back to Charleston, where he arrived amid universal acclamations.*

Captain Johnston Blakely was born in Seaford, county Down, Ireland, in October, 1781. His father soon after emigrated to this country ; but in South Carolina, the family died, one by one, leaving young Blakely alone in the world. While at school, in 1799, the orphan had the additional misfortune to lose the remnant of property left him, and, in 1800, a friend of his family procured him a midshipman's warrant. In 1813, he served in the *Enterprise*, and, in the beginning of 1814, was promoted to the command of the *Wasp*. Soon after, he fell in with the British ship *Reindeer*, in latitude $48^{\circ} 36'$ north, and after an action of nineteen minutes, captured her. The American loss was twenty-one killed and wounded, the British, sixty-seven. In August, 1814, he captured a British merchant-ship under convoy, and on the first of September the *Avon* also struck her flag to him. Before he could take possession of the *Avon* a fresh British ship arrived, and Blakely whose ship was somewhat damaged, was obliged to sheer off. This is the last authentic account of him. His ship was spoken off the Azores, and was supposed to have foundered at sea. All else is only conceit and conjecture. "But whatever may have been the fate of Blakely," says Dr. Frost, "this much is certain, that he will, to use his own expression, 'be classed among those names that stand so high.' The lustre of his

* "Sketches of the Late War," p. 441.

exploits, not less than the interest excited by those who remember how, in his very boyhood, he was left without a single being around him with whom he could claim kindred blood—how by his merit he obtained friends, and conferred honour on that country which was not only his parent, but has become the parent of his only child—and how, last of all, he perished—God only knows where and how—has all given to his character, his history, his achievements, and his fate, a romantic interest, marking the name of Blakely for lasting and affectionate remembrance.”*

One more fact (and it is a great one) we have to connect with his name. The Legislature of North Carolina, in December, 1816, “Resolved unanimously—that Captain Blakely’s child be educated at the expense of this State, and that Mrs. Blakely be requested to draw on the treasurer of this State, from time to time, for such sums of money as shall be required for the education of the said child.”

John Shaw, a native of Mountmellick, emigrated in 1790 to Philadelphia, being then seventeen years of age. In 1798, in the *quasi* French war, he was appointed to command the armed schooner *Enterprise*, with a crew of seventy-six men. In six months his schooner captured eight French privateers, or letters of marque. In 1801, peace was concluded with the French Directory, and Mr. Shaw retired with the grade and half-pay of lieutenant. In 1806, when Burr was fitting out his secret expedition in the upper Mississippi, he

* Frost’s “Lives of the Commodores,” p. 272.

got command of the United States flotilla before Natchez, and when that conspiracy exploded, was appointed by Jefferson to the command of the navy yard at Norfolk, Virginia, with the rank of post-captain. In the war of 1812, he ranked as commodore, and commanded for a year the United States squadron in the Mediterranean. After the war, he had charge of the navy yard at Charleston, and died in September, 1823, at Philadelphia. Mr. Fenimore Cooper speaks of him as “second to none on the list of gallant seamen with which the present navy of the Republic commenced its brilliant career”—as personally “a man of fine presence, beloved by those who served under him.”

Thomas M'Donough, brother to James, mentioned in the War of Independence, was distinguished in 1805, in the attack on Tripoli. He was the second man to board the Turkish frigate with Stephen Decatur, who was, by his mother, half Irish. He was promoted to the rank of first lieutenant of the *Siren*, and, in 1806, displayed great spirit at Gibraltar in retaking, out of the British boats, some impressed American seamen. In 1812, he was ordered to Lake Champlain, and in 1814, the British ships built on the Canadian side being ready for a descent on New York, he prepared to meet them. M'Donough had under him the *Saratoga*, twenty-six guns ; the *Eagle*, twenty ; *Ticonderoga*, seventeen ; the *Preble*, seven ; and ten galleys with sixteen guns—in all, eighty-six. The British force mounted ninety-five guns, headed by the frigate *Confiance*, a powerful ship.

On the 11th of September, the two fleets met at eight in the morning, and at noon M'Donough was completely victorious, having taken the frigate and captured or sunk all the remaining vessels, with the exception of some small galleys which escaped. New York and Vermont voted to the victor large tracts of land, and Congress caused a gold medal to be struck in honour of the event. He married and settled in Middletown, Connecticut, where he died of consumption in 1825. His grave is in the little cemetery of that quiet town, and the river of "steady habits" flows soothingly before the resting-place of the commodore.

Commodore Charles Stewart was born of Irish parents in Philadelphia, 28th July, 1718, and was the fourth commodore that Ireland gave to America. In 1798 he entered the service as lieutenant to Commodore Barry, and distinguished himself, in 1800, in the *quasi* French war. In the West Indian waters, Stewart captured several French craft, and in 1802 was made commander of the *Siren*. Like Decatur and M'Donough he won his first laurels at Tripoli, and his chief reputation in the war of 1812-15, having got charge of the *Constitution* in 1813, and the same year destroyed the British brig *Pictou*, and schooners *Catherine* and *Phœnix*, in the West Indies. In 1814, his ship being refitted, he captured, off the Bermudas, the *Lord Nelson*; off Lisbon, the *Susan*; and in February, 1815, in the West Indies, took, in the same engagement, the British ship *Cyane*, of thirty-four, and *Levant*, of twenty-one guns.

Honours were showered upon him on his return home, and the various States vied with each other in their presentations. From that period he has been employed, as Barry was before him, in superintending the construction of new ships at Philadelphia, Norfolk, and elsewhere. The love of Ireland, which he has so often manifested, seems likely to be hereditary in his family.*

Among the officers of the second rank in this war, Decatur bestowed especial praise on Lieutenant Gallagher, and Perry on Purser M'Grath, who commanded the armed brig *Caledonia* in the memorable battle of Lake Erie. In the same engagement Lieutenant Conklin gave satisfaction as commander of the schooner *Tigress*.

The total number of British vessels captured during this war was 1551—an unanswerable proof of the bravery, skill, and activity of the American naval commanders.

* His daughter, married in Ireland, is the author of some fine Irish poetry.

CHAPTER XV.

THE WAR BY LAND—BATTLES ON THE NORTHERN FRONTIER — MASON — O'NEALE — LANDING OF GENERAL ROSS — TREATMENT OF NATURALISED CITIZENS TAKEN IN ARMS—SUCCESSES OF ROSS—ANDREW JACKSON ON THE MISSISSIPPI — HIS CAREER AND CHARACTER — BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS—PEACE.

THE campaigns of 1812 and 1813 were chiefly fought on the Canadian frontier. Among the militia which appeared on the American border, many sons of Ireland gained distinction. The names of Brady, Mullany, M'Keon, Croghan, rank after those of Scott, Brown, and Wool, for services performed on that theatre of war, where, however, the greatest achievement effected was the successful defence of American territory from invasion. The defeat of Hull and surrender of Detroit were more than compensated by the brilliant victories of Chippewa, Bridgewater, and Plattsburg ; and the work of security was completed by the utter defeat of Tecumseh and his Anglo-Indian forces at the battle of the Thames, in the territory of Michigan.

This action, fought in October, 1813, was the last and most complete defeat of the savages of the north-western lakes. Tecumseh was supposed to have fallen by the hands of Colonel Johnson of Kentucky ; but that veteran soldier has himself said that all he could say was, when attacked by

the chief he fired, and when the smoke cleared away, the Indian lay dead before him. The popular account attributes the deadly aim and wound to one Mason, a native of the county of Wexford, Ireland, who though a grandfather, aged four-score, volunteered his services in that expedition. He had been an old revolutionary soldier, and fought in the ranks with his own sons, themselves men of middle age.*

The British "naval operations" on the northern coast having signally failed, some of the invading force were directed to attempt the shore of the Chesapeake, and to penetrate to Washington. In May, 1813, 400 men were despatched from Warren's fleet to burn the town of Havre-de-Grace, Maryland. The few militia in the place abandoned it; but John O'Neale and two others worked a small battery with deadly effect. The enemy having effected a landing, these humble Horatii retreated to the nail factory, and continued a destructive musketry fire on those who approached. A party of marines finally captured O'Neale, who was carried prisoner on board the *Maidstone* frigate. He would have been instantly executed but for the vigorous interference of General Miller, who threatened to execute two British prisoners, in retaliation, if his life were taken.

During this war such threats alone could have saved the naturalised citizens, formerly British

* In a contemporaneous view of the battle, he is represented as firing at Tecumseh, over Colonel Johnson's shoulder, with a rifle, while Johnson is discharging a pistol.

subjects, when taken in arms. A proclamation dated 26th October, 1812, and signed by the Prince Regent (George IV.), distinctly announced that all such prisoners would be treated as "rebels" in arms against their sovereign. In February, 1813, the naturalized citizens of Philadelphia, through Alderman John Binns, chairman of their meeting drew the attention of President Madison to this declaration. This memorial was answered by the President, as follows :

" Washington, 11th February, 1813.

" GENTLEMEN—I have received your communication in behalf of the naturalised citizens in and near Philadelphia, who were born within the British dominions, occasioned by the proclamation of the Prince Regent of Great Britain, dated the 26th of October last, and by other indications of a purpose of subjecting to the penalties of British law such of that description of citizens as shall have been taken in arms against Great Britain.

" As the British laws and practice confer all the rights and immunities of natural-born subjects on aliens serving even a short period on board British vessels, it might have been concluded that an intention would have been neither formed nor proclaimed by the head of that nation, which is as inconsistent with its own example as it is repugnant to reason and humanity.

" The rights of naturalised citizens being under the same guaranty of the national faith and honour with the rights of other citizens, the former

may be assured that it is the determination, as it will be the duty of the executive department of the government, to employ whatever just means may be within its competency, for enforcing the respect which is due from the enemy to the rights and persons of those who combat under the banners, and in defence and maintenance of the rights and safety of their adopted country.

“Accept my friendly respects,

“JAMES MADISON.*

“To John Binns, William Smiley, John W. Thompson, Francis Mitchell, John Maitland, George Palmer, Esqrs.”

The decided tone of Mr. Madison's letter tended, in a great measure, to save the lives of many Irish-born officers and men, then in the British prisons at Quebec and Halifax.

The most painful part of the campaign of 1814 was the success of General Ross, who, in August, landed at Benedict, marched on, and burned Washington, and finally fell by the hand of a patriotic boy near Baltimore, after having taken and sacked that city.

But the theatre of the closing campaign was now shifted to the Mississippi. On the 1st of December, 1814, Andrew Jackson, commander-in-chief of the seventh military division of the United States, arrived at New Orleans. This distinguished man was then in the forty-seventh year of his age, and had already acquired a bril-

* Printed from the autograph, presented to the author by Mr. Binns.

lignant reputation. Born in the Waxhaw settlement of Irish parents, at thirteen he had fought and been wounded in the Revolutionary contest. His mother, an extraordinary woman, had died, a victim to her charity in attending the prisoners of war in the prison-ship at Charleston ; his father died when he was a child, and both his brothers had fallen bravely in battle. At man's age he removed to Tennessee, with Judge M'Cay, and had filled successively the offices of representative, senator, judge of the Supreme Court, and major-general of militia.

His military reputation was founded on a succession of meritorious actions. He had subdued the Creek nation, chased their British and Spanish allies into Florida, captured Pensacola, and given his eagles air from the towers of St. Augustine and St. Mark. With jealousy at Washington, and even at home, without a commissariat or treasure, he had carried his brave westerns through swamps, wildernesses, and prairies, had headed them in assaulting the savage warriors' ambush, and the civilized soldiers' cannon-guarded fortress. Hitherto glory had been his shadow, as danger had been his attraction, and patriotism almost his sole resource.

In his Indian wars, Jackson had bred up Carroll, Coffee, Higgins, Armstrong, Donaldson, and other officers, some of whom were connected with him by family ties, and all by affection.*

* In his despatch to Major-General Pinckney, containing the account of the battle of Emuckfaw, 27th March, 1814, Jackson alludes to an Irish pioneer : "The militia of the

The greater part of these brave men were with him at New Orleans.

He found that important city almost naked of defences. The state militia, the regulars withdrawn from Florida, the volunteers from Tennessee, Mississippi, and Kentucky, gave him the command of some 6,000 men, while Packenham (having effected a landing on the 22nd of December) had halted within seven miles of the city at the head of 14,000, the flower of the old Peninsular army.

The following is a description of the battle of the 23rd December, as detailed to President Monroe by General Jackson himself :

"The loss of our gun-boats near the pass of the Rigolets having given the enemy command of Lake Borgne, he was enabled to choose his point of attack. It became, therefore, an object of importance to obstruct the numerous bayous and canals leading from that lake to the highlands on the Mississippi. This important service was committed, in the first instance, to a detachment of the seventh regiment; afterwards to Colonel De Laronde, of the Louisiana militia; and, lastly, to make all sure, to Major-General Villere, commanding the district between the river and the lakes, and who, being a native of the country, was presumed to be best acquainted with all those passes. Unfortunately, however, a picquet which the general had established at the mouth of the venerable General Doherty's brigade (acted) in the charge with a vivacity and firmness which would have done honour to regulars."—*Eaton's Life of Jackson*, p. 85.

Bayou Bienvenue, and which, notwithstanding my orders, had been left unobstructed, was completely surprised, and the enemy penetrated through a canal leading to a farm about two leagues below the city, and succeeded in cutting off a company of militia stationed there. This intelligence was communicated to me about twelve o'clock of the 23rd. My force at this time consisted of parts of the seventh and forty-fourth regiments, not exceeding 600 together, the city militia, a part of General Coffee's brigade of mounted gunmen, and the detached militia from the western division of Tennessee, under the command of Major-General Carroll. These two last corps were stationed four miles above the city. Apprehending a double attack by the way of Chief-Menteur, I left General Carroll's force and the militia of the city posted on the Gentilly road; and at five o'clock, P.M., marched to meet the enemy, whom I was resolved to attack in his first position, with Major Hinds' dragoons, General Coffee's brigade, parts of the seventh and forty-fourth regiments, the uniformed companies of militia, under the command of Major Planche, 200 men of colour, chiefly from St. Domingo, raised by Colonel Savary, and under the command of Major Dagwin, and a detachment of artillery under the direction of Colonel M'Rhea, with two six-pounders under the command of Lieutenant Spotts; not exceeding in all 1,500. I arrived near the enemy's encampment about seven, and immediately made my dispositions for the attack. His forces, amounting at that time on land to about 3,000, extended half-a-mile on that

river, and in the rear nearly to the wood. General Coffee was ordered to turn their right, while with the residue of the force I attacked his strongest position on the left, near the river. Commodore Patterson, having dropped down the river in the schooner *Caroline*, was directed to open a fire upon their camp, which he executed at about half-past seven. This being a signal of attack, General Coffee's men, with their usual impetuosity, rushed on the enemy's right, and entered their camp, while our right advanced with equal ardour. There can be but little doubt that we should have succeeded on that occasion, with our inferior force, in destroying or capturing the enemy, had not a thick fog, which arose about eight o'clock, occasioned some confusion among the different corps. Fearing the consequence, under this circumstance, of the further prosecution of a night attack, with troops then acting together for the first time, I contented myself with lying on the field that night; and at four in the morning assumed a stronger position about two miles nearer the city. At this position I remained encamped, waiting the arrival of the Kentucky militia and other reinforcements. As the safety of the city will depend on the fate of this army, it must not be inadvertently exposed.

"In this affair the whole corps under my command deserve the greatest credit. The best compliment I can pay to General Coffee and his brigade, is to say they have behaved as they have always done while under my command. The seventh, led by Major Pierre, and forty-fourth,

commanded by Colonel Ross, distinguished themselves. The battalion of city militia, commanded by Major Planche, realized my anticipations, and behaved like veterans. Savary's volunteers manifested great bravery ; and the company of city riflemen, having penetrated into the midst of the enemy's camp, were surrounded, and fought their way out with the greatest heroism, bringing with them a number of prisoners. The two field-pieces were well served by the officers commanding them.

" All my officers in the line did their duty, and I have every reason to be satisfied with the whole of my field and staff. Colonels Butler and Platt, and Major Chotard, by their intrepidity, saved the artillery. Colonel Haynes was everywhere that duty or danger called. I was deprived of the services of one of my aids, Captain Butler, whom I was obliged to station, to his great regret, in town. Captain Reid, my other aid, and Messrs. Livingston, Duplissis, and Davezac, who had volunteered their services, faced danger wherever it was to be met, and carried my orders with the utmost promptitude.

" We made one major, two subalterns, and sixty-three privates prisoners ; and the enemy's loss, in killed and wounded, must have been at least ——. My own loss I have not as yet been able to ascertain with exactness, but suppose it to amount to one hundred in killed, wounded, and missing. Among the former I have to lament the loss of Colonel Lauderdale, of General Coffee's brigade, who fell while bravely fighting. Colonels

Dyer and Gibson, of the same corps, were wounded, and Major Kavenaugh taken prisoner.

"Colonel De Laronde, Major Villere, of the Louisiana militia, Major Latour of Engineers, having no command, volunteered their services, as did Drs. Kerr and Hood, and were of great assistance to me."

On the 28th December and 1st of January the enemy again stormed his cotton breast-works, and were again repulsed. On the 8th the memorable battle was fought which established a second time American Independence.

"On the 7th a general movement and bustle in the British camp indicated that the contemplated attack was about to be made. Everything in the American encampment was ready for action, when, at day-break on the morning of the memorable 8th, a shower of rockets from the enemy gave the signal of battle. A detachment of the enemy, under Colonel Thornton, proceeded to attack the works on the right bank of the river, while General Pakenham with his whole force, exceeding 12,000 men, moved in two divisions under Generals Gibbs and Kean, and a reserve under General Lambert. Both divisions were supplied with scaling-ladders and fascines, and General Gibbs had directions to make the principal attack. Nothing could exceed the imposing grandeur of the scene. The whole British force advanced with much deliberation, in solid columns, over the even surface of the plain in front of the American intrenchments, bearing with them, in addition to their arms, their fascines and ladders for storming

the American works. All was hushed in awful stillness throughout the American lines ; each soldier grasped his arms with a fixedness of purpose which told his firm resolve to ‘do or die ;’ till the enemy approached within reach of the batteries, which opened upon them an incessant and destructive tide of death. They continued, however, to advance with the greatest firmness, closing up their lines as they were opened by the fire of the Americans, till they approached within reach of the musketry and rifles ; these, in addition to the artillery, produced the most terrible havoc in their ranks, and threw them into the greatest confusion. Twice were they driven back with immense slaughter, and twice they formed again and renewed the assault. But the fire of the Americans was tremendous ; it was unparalleled in the annals of deadly doing ; it was one continued blaze of destruction, before which men could not stand and live. Every discharge swept away the British columns like an inundation—they could not withstand it, but fled in consternation and dismay. Vigorous were the attempts of their officers to rally them ; General Pakenham, in the attempt, received a shot, and fell upon the field. Generals Gibbs and Kean succeeded, and attempted again to push on their columns to the attack, but a still more dreadful fatality met them from the thunders of the American batteries. A third unavailing attempt was made to rally their troops by their officers, but the same destruction met them. The gallantry of the British officers on this desperate day was deserving of a worthier cause and better

fate. General Gibbs fell mortally, and General Kean desperately wounded, and were borne from the field of action. The discomfiture of the enemy was now complete; a few only of the platoons reached the ditch, there to meet more certain death. The remainder fled from the field with the greatest precipitancy, and no further efforts were made to rally them. The intervening plain between the American and British fortifications was covered with the dead; taking into view the length of time and the numbers engaged, the annals of bloody strife, it is believed, furnish no parallel to the dreadful carnage of this battle. Two thousand, at the lowest estimate, fell, besides a considerable number wounded. The loss of the Americans did not exceed seven killed and six wounded. General Lambert was the only superior officer left on the field; being unable to check the flight of the British columns, he retreated to his encampment.

"The entire destruction of the enemy's army would have been now inevitable, had it not been for an unfortunate occurrence which at this moment took place on the other side of the river. General Pakenham had thrown over in his boats, upon that side of the stream, a considerable force, under the command of Colonel Thornton, simultaneously with his advance upon the main body of the American works. They succeeded in landing at the point of their destination, and advanced to assault the entrenchment defended by General Morgan. Their reception was not such as might have been expected from the known courage and

firmness of the troops under his command ; at a moment when the same fate that met their fellows on the opposite side of the river was looked for with a confidence approaching to a certainty, the American right, believing itself to be outflanked, or for some other reason never satisfactorily explained, relinquished its position ; while the left, with the batteries of Commodore Patterson, maintained their ground for some time with much gallantry and spirit ; till at length, finding themselves deserted by their friends on the right, and greatly outnumbered by the enemy, they were compelled to spike their guns and retreat.

" This unfortunate result totally changed the aspect of affairs. The enemy were now in occupation of a position from which they might annoy the Americans with little hazard to themselves, and by means of which they might have been enabled to defeat, in a very considerable degree, the effects of the success of our arms on the other side of the river. It therefore became an object of the first consequence with General Jackson to dislodge him as soon as possible. For this object, all the means in his power, which he could use with safety, were put into immediate requisition."

But, under cover of the night, the enemy, totally disheartened, retreated silently to his ships, and sailed sorrowfully from the place of his punishment, the much-coveted Mississippi. The British loss, in officers and men, was about 5,000, including their general-in-chief ; the American loss less than 300.

Well might William Cobbett read a lesson to the British oligarchy from the battle of New Orleans! Well might he exult over the punishment which had fallen upon them, from this "son of poor Irish emigrant parents."*

While at New Orleans, Jackson received news of the ratification of the Treaty of Ghent, and the new-made peace consequent thereon.

CHAPTER XVI.

JACKSON, PRESIDENT—UNITED STATES BANK—"THE IRISH VOTE"—EDWARD KAVANAGH, MINISTER TO PORTUGAL—SENATOR PORTER—JACKSON'S PARTIALITY TO IRISH EMIGRANTS—HIS INFLUENCE ON HIS PARTY—HIS CHARACTER.

By the victory of New Orleans Jackson had saved the valley of the Mississippi; by the Seminole war of 1817 and 1818 he added the Floridas to "the area of liberty." His native State, as a proof of its confidence, sent him to the Senate, and in 1824 a great portion of the Democratic party voted for him as President. Two hundred and seventy-one electoral votes were divided between four candidates, thus—Jackson had 99, John Quincy Adams, 84; W. H. Crawford, 41; and Henry Clay, 37. The decision, therefore,

* Cobbett's "Life of Andrew Jackson." This biting pamphlet was intended to be a vehicle of Cobbett's radicalism on the questions of the day in Great Britain. It is conceived in a very angry spirit, but executed with great ability. See the Dedication to "the People of Ireland."

went to the House of Representatives, who, through some motive, passed over the popular candidate, and elected Mr. Adams President.

In 1825, the Legislature of Tennessee, on motion of Mr. Kennedy, nominated Jackson again for the Presidency, and in 1828 he was chosen by a large majority.

With the eight years' administration of this eminent President we have in this work little to do. The great action of his civil life was the abolition of the United States Bank—an institution which threatened to become to our government the *imperium in imperio* which the Bank of England is in the government of England. All men at this day seem to bear testimony to the wisdom of Jackson in that perilous encounter with the incorporated capital of the Union—an encounter in which he was assailed with defamation, treachery, faction, and even by the assassin's hand. But Providence preserved him through all ; and those who hated him unsparingly in life, have of late been offering repentant prayers upon his grave.

In both presidential contests the General was enthusiastically sustained by "the Irish vote." Apart from his kindred origin, his military characteristics and thorough democracy secured their suffrages. His surviving friends often repeat that he considered that vote an essential element of American democracy.

Of the various men of Irish origin who found important employments under Jackson's administration, Edward Kavanagh, of Maine, was the

most noted. He was of that Leinster house which has given so many distinguished public men to continental Europe.* He had been a state senator and acting-governor of Maine—a man of strong Irish and Catholic tendencies, and, at the same time, an ardent Jacksonian. Him the President sent minister to Portugal, where he gave unbroken satisfaction to his own and the native government. He was a man of refined tastes, and on his return from Lisbon, brought over an excellent collection of Spanish and Portuguese literature, with which he enriched various institutions and libraries.† He died at his residence at Damariscotta in 1842, at an advanced age.

During the greater part of Jackson's presidency, Mr. Clay was the leader of the Whig opposition. The unrivalled parliamentary powers of that famous leader would have shaken almost any other man; but Jackson was incorporated into the very being of the American people, and could not be separated from them. Still a numerous and formidable party obeyed the banner of Clay, and among these Senator Porter, of Louisiana, was one of the most devoted and most able, during Jackson's second presidency. This gentleman was the son

* Within a century it could count in Europe an Aulic Councillor, a Governor of Prague, and a Field-Marshal Kavanagh, at Vienna; a Field-Marshal in Poland; a Grand Chamberlain in Saxony; a Count of the Holy Roman Empire; a French Conventionist of 1793, Godefroi Cavaignac, co-editor with Armand Carrell, and Eugene Cavaignac, some time Dictator in France.

† A portion of his collection enriches the library of the Jesuit College at Worcester, Mass.

of the Rev. Wm. Porter, pastor of Grey Abbey, Newtownards, county Down, who was executed at the door of his own church, for treason, in 1798. His orphan son came with an uncle to the United States ; but we shall let the friends who mourned his death record his life.

On the 2nd February, 1841, his death was announced by Messrs. Barrow and Benton in the United States Senate. They furnished this account of his useful and interesting career.

Mr. Benton, of Missouri, spoke as follows :—
“ I am the oldest personal friend whom the illustrious deceased can have upon this floor, and amongst the oldest whom he can have in the United States. It is now, sir, more than the period of a generation—more than the third of a century—since the then emigrant Irish boy, Alexander Porter, and myself met on the banks of the Cumberland river, at Nashville in the State of Tennessee, when commenced a friendship which death only dissolved on his part. We belonged to a circle of young lawyers and students at law who had the world before them, and nothing but their exertions to depend upon. First a clerk in his uncle’s store, then a student at law, and always a lover of books, the young Porter was one of that circle ; and it was the custom of all that belonged to it to spend their leisure hours in the delightful occupation of reading. History, poetry, elocution, biography, the ennobling speeches of the living and the dead, were our social recreation ; and the youngest member of our circle was one of our favourite readers. He read well, because he com-

prehended clearly, felt strongly, remarked beautifully upon striking passages, and gave a new charm to the whole with his rich, mellifluous Irish accent. It was then that I became acquainted with Ireland and her children, read the ample story of her wrongs, learnt the long list of her martyred patriots' names, sympathised in their fate, and imbibed the feelings for a noble and oppressed people, which the extinction of my own life can alone extinguish.

“ Time and events dispersed that circle. The young Porter, his law licence signed, went to the Lower Mississippi—I to the Upper. And, years afterwards, we met on this floor, senators from different parts of that vast Louisiana which was not even a part of the American Union at the time that he and I were born. We met here in the session of 1833-34—high party times, and on opposite sides of the great party line ; but we met as we had parted years before. We met as friends, and though often our part to reply to each other in the ardent debate, yet never did we do it with other feelings than those with which we were wont to discuss our subjects of recreation on the banks of the Cumberland.

“ Alexander Porter—a lad of tender age—an orphan, with a widowed mother and young children—the father martyred in the cause of freedom—an exile before he was ten years old—an ocean to be crossed, and a strange land to be seen, and a wilderness of a thousand miles to be penetrated before he could find a resting-place for the sole of his foot. Then, education to be ac-

quired, support to be earned, and even citizenship to be gained before he could make his own talents available to his support ; conquering all these difficulties by his own exertions and the aid of an affectionate uncle—Mr. Alexander Porter, sen., merchant of Nashville—he soon attained every earthly object, either brilliant or substantial, for which we live and struggle in this life. Honours, fortune, friends ; the highest professional and political distinction ; long a supreme judge in his adopted State ; twice a senator in the Congress of the United States ; wearing all his honours fresh and growing to the last moment of his life—and the announcement of his death followed by the adjournment of the two Houses of the American Congress ! What a noble and crowning conclusion to a beginning so humble, and so apparently hopeless !

“ Our deceased brother was not an American citizen by the accident of birth ; he became so by the choice of his own will and by the operation of our laws. The events of his life, and the business of this day, show this title to citizenship to be as valid in our America as it was in the great republic of antiquity. I borrow the thought of Cicero, in his pleading for the poet Archias, when I place the citizen who becomes so by law and choice on an equal footing with the citizen who becomes so by chance. And, in the instance now before us, we may say that our adopted citizen has repaid us for the liberality of our laws—that he has added to the stock of our national character by the contributions which he has brought to

it, in the purity of his private life, the eminence of his public services, the ardour of his patriotism, and the elegant productions of his mind.

“ A few years ago, and after he had obtained great honour and fortune in this country, he returned on a visit to his native land, and to the continent of Europe. It was an occasion of honest exultation for the orphan immigrant boy to return to the land of his fathers, rich in the goods of this life, and clothed with the honours of the American Senate. But the visit was a melancholy one to him. His soul sickened at the state of his fellowmen in the old world (I had it from his own lips), and he returned from that visit with stronger feelings than ever in favour of his adopted country.”

Senator Barrow thus describes his deceased colleague: “ Judge Porter was born in the land of Curran, and his father was a contemporary and friend of that brilliant orator and incorruptible patriot. The father of Judge Porter was a man of piety and classical education, and was by profession a minister of the gospel ; but the fire of patriotism and the love of liberty glowed so warmly in his bosom, that he threw aside the sacerdotal robe and put on the burnished armour of a soldier, and resolved to conquer or die in defence of his country’s freedom. History informs us what was the result of the patriotic attempt made in 1798, by some of the purest and most gifted sons of Ireland, to emancipate her from the thraldom of England ; and, from the pages of the same history, we learn that the father of Judge Porter fell a martyr in

the cause of freedom, and was executed as a rebel. Judge Porter thus became in early life fatherless and without a home, and he was forced to abandon his own, his native land, and seek refuge in a land of strangers. To this country, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, Judge Porter, in company with his widowed mother and a younger brother, emigrated and settled in Nashville, Tennessee, amongst whose generous citizens he found many ready to comfort the widow and protect the fatherless.

" In a few years, while thus labouring for his own and a widowed mother's support, he not only extended the sphere of his general knowledge, but he laid the broad and deep foundation of that legal learning which was the pride and ornament of his matured age, and which will transmit his name to the latest posterity as one of the brightest judicial lights of this age. At this period of his life we find Judge Porter once more seeking a new home ; and about the year 1809 he removed from Nashville to the territory of Orleans, and settled in the parish of Attakapas, where he lived and died, loved and admired for his many private virtues, and honoured for his talents and public services.

" The first high station of trust in which we find him placed by the confidence of the people among whom he had settled, is in the convention of 1812 to form a constitution for the territory of Orleans. In that body, which numbered the ablest men of the territory, Judge Porter soon acquired a reputation for integrity, learning, and

statesmanship, which placed him at once most conspicuously before the people ; and he was, not long after that period, elevated to the Supreme Court Bench of the State of Louisiana, which station he occupied for about fifteen years.

“ It was in that office that Judge Porter rendered services to the people of Louisiana above all appreciation, and acquired for himself a reputation as imperishable as the civil law itself. The opinions which he delivered display a depth of learning, a power of analysis, a force of reasoning, and a comprehensiveness and accuracy of judgment, which justly entitled him to a niche in the temple of Fame in juxtaposition with even the great, the pure, the immortal Marshall.”

This is the language of eulogy, but it contains the evidence of being founded in truth.

Jackson had a natural, but not a blind partiality for his race. His personal attendants were nearly all natives of Ireland, and he would condescend to reason, advise, and exhort them, as if they were his own family. Many instances of his thoughtfulness in this regard have been related to us by living witnesses of the facts.*

In 1836, Andrew Jackson retired to his “ Her-

* We have perused a most kind and characteristic letter from the General to Mr. Maher, the public gardener at Washington, on the death of his children. It is conceived in the most fraternal and cordial spirit of sympathy. Jackson's man-servant, Jemmy O'Neil—alas! no more—was once in the circle of our acquaintance. Before the days of Father Mathew, poor Jemmy was given to sacrifice too freely to Bacchus, and on those occasions assumed rather a troublesome control over all visitors and dwellers

mitage," where nine years of peaceful repose, broken only by the pains incident to age, were granted him. He had bequeathed his party influence to Van Buren ; and though for a time the Democratic succession was disturbed, he saw it restored before his death in the elevation of Mr. Polk to the presidency in 1844. He had the gratification to see a vote of Congress censuring his military conduct in Florida, and the fine imposed in New Orleans for declaring martial law in 1815 rescinded and refunded. His principles and policy were everywhere spread, and successful ; and it would have been no illusion of self-love for him to believe that, next to Thomas Jefferson, he had done most to form a national policy for the Union acceptable, in the main, to every American.

The character of Jackson will be an historical study for a thousand years. His is one of those angular outlines which almost defy time to make them commonplace. Like Sixtus Quintus, Columbus, and Cromwell, much reflection on him does not beget the sense of dimness, but of substantiality. We have blood and bone in every incident of his life and every word he has uttered.

in the "White House." After many complaints, Jackson decided to dismiss him, and sent for him accordingly.

Jackson—Jemmy, you and I must part.

Jemmy—Why so, General ?

Jackson—Every one complains of you.

Jemmy—And do you believe them, General ?

Jackson—Of course—what every one says must be true.

Jemmy—Well, now, General, I've heard twice as much said against you, and I never would believe a word of it!
(Exit Jackson.)

Truly has it been said, "he was one of the sincerest of men." Philosophers might be puzzled at the rigid sequence of his life and language, did they not know that there are some natures which, founded upon certain radical principles, can only live a life of unity or of madness. Jackson could never have been inconsistent unless he had gone insane.

American national character has, since his day, partaken equally of Jackson and of Franklin. The Quaker thrift, the proverbial calculation remains, but with it is mingled a strange and potent elemental ardour, a desire of territory, a sense of power, and a Spartan audacity, unknown to the revolutionary generation. The Virginian Presidents had the manners of courts and the discipline of English Benchers. The man of the west, tough as the hickory trees through which he so often marched, was as natural in his style, habits, and wants as any hunter of the prairies. When the "White House" was threatened with a mob, he dismissed the naval and military officers who volunteered their guard, loaded his own and his nephew's rifle, and, so prepared, the President of the United States awaited his foes in the executive mansion. He would not use a sheet of the public paper; he allowed no lackeys to attend on his person. In small things and in great he was singular among great men; but all his singularities when compiled will be found to constitute a grand, original, and compact soldier-statesman.

CHAPTER XVII.

SPREAD OF CATHOLICISM—ORGANISATION INTO DIOCESES — WESTERN MISSIONS — SOUTHERN MISSIONS—BISHOP ENGLAND—CHARLESTON CONVENT BURNED, A. D. 1834—THE GREAT CONTROVERSY.

THE United States constitution had swept away all disabilities on conscience, and though prejudice remained, open persecution was seen in the land no more. New missions were formed, seminaries were opened, and many additional churches were begun. From the year 1790 onwards, the chief supply of the American mission was from France and Ireland. In 1796, Catholicism in the east gained a treasure in the person of Dr. Cheverus, afterwards Cardinal in France. The first Catholic congregation in Boston had been collected by the Abbé la Poitre, a French chaplain during the Revolutionary war, who procured a temporary church in School-street. Dr. Cheverus, not confining himself to the city, traversed New England, from the Housatonic to the Penobscot. He learned English, and even the Indian dialects, to make his mission understood. He travelled from house to house in Boston, personally visiting his flock. Prejudice had no fortress against him, labour no terrors ; the plague itself saw him harmless from its worst haunts. He is justly revered as one of the fathers of the American Church ; and, truly, those who knew him, even those deaf

to his doctrine, admit that he led the life of an apostle worthy of the Cross.

In April, 1808, Pope Pius VII. issued his Bull, erecting Baltimore into an Archbishopsric,* and fixing four Sees at Bardstown, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. The Rev. Messrs. Flaget, Concanen, Egan, and Cheverus were consecrated to the several Sees. Thus, of the original *five* who made the hierarchy of the Union, France contributed two and Ireland three.

About the year 1800, the Catholic missions began to be formed beyond the Ohio, and in a few years became both numerous and important. The accession of Louisiana to the Union, in Jefferson's presidency, extended the field of Catholic missions, and still further strengthened the Church in the south-west. The diocese of Arkansas and archdiocese of St. Louis are recent creations.

In 1791, the mission of Charleston was founded. "In that year, a number of individuals of that communion, chiefly natives of Ireland, associated together for public worship, chose a vestry, and put themselves under the care of Bishop Carroll, of Baltimore. The Rev. Dr. Keating officiated as their minister. The troubles in France and the

* On the 31st of May, 1821, the Cathedral of Baltimore, the building of which had been begun in 1806, suspended during the war, and recommenced in 1817, was consecrated. The form is that of a cross; its length, 166 feet; breadth, 77 feet; and across the transept, 115 feet. It yet wants the portico on the western front; but through the exertions of an association formed for the purpose, it has been surrounded by a handsome iron railing, and a sexton's lodge has been erected.

West Indies soon brought a large accession to their number. Under the auspices of the learned and eloquent Dr. Gallagher, they have built, organised, and obtained incorporation for a respectable church in Charleston.”*

To the government of that southern mission was ordained, in the year 1820, the most powerful intellect which had yet ministered at the altar in America. The generation of apostles had passed, the confessors had now come; and Dr. England stands, unquestionably, the foremost of the band, whether we look for natural parts, solid learning, rigid self-denial, or unmitigated labour.

Bishop John England was born in Cork city on the 23rd of September, 1786. Educated and ordained at Carlow College, he returned to his native city in 1808. For twelve years he laboured there without ceasing. He originated a circulating library, started and edited the *Religious Repository*, a monthly magazine, contributed to the *Cork Chronicle*, the patriotic organ, lectured three or four times a week at the Cathedral, and yet attended to all the daily personal duties of the mission. One need not wonder if, after twelve years of such labours, his departure from Cork was lamented by all denominations as a calamity to the city. On the last day of 1820, he arrived at Charleston, having been consecrated at Cork, the previous September, by the Right Rev. Dr.

* Ramsay’s South Carolina, vol. ii. p. 37. This passage was probably written about the year 1796 or 1797, and consequently shows that Dr. Gallagher was the precursor of Dr. England.

Murphy, assisted by the Bishops of Ossory and Richmond.

The states of North and South Carolina and Georgia, as subsequently the Vicariate of Hayti, were placed under his episcopal jurisdiction. Surveying the ground he was to govern, the indomitable spirit of the great bishop found difficulties enough for the most heroic to face. The variety and extent of his first labours are indicated by a congenial biographer in the following passages :

"But the herald of the Cross had been 'anointed' to the holy mission 'with the oil of gladness above his fellows!' The enlightened and accomplished citizens of the south were seen crowding around his pulpit, delighted by his eloquence, abashed by his learning, astonished by his logic, ready to exclaim with him of old, 'Almost thou persuadest!' Churches, temporary in material and slight in structure, it is true, but suitable for the exigency, rose around him like exhalations. A constitution was formed, and the diocese incorporated by legal charter, which, while it reserved to the bishop all powers essential to discipline and repressive to schism, guaranteed ecclesiastic property to its legitimate destination against the possible lapse of himself or his successors; and, by introducing the principle of public and strict accountability into the management of ecclesiastical revenues, assured to him the confidence of a people proverbially jealous on all subjects connected with the purse.

" His first and greatest want was that of a popular clergy. His diocese, like most poor and thinly-peopled ones, had been a city of refuge to outcasts from others. Men of talent and merit were of eager request, where not only greater temporal advantages, but ampler opportunities to do good, invited them. His sad experience, too, with some valuable co-labourers whom zeal of martyrdom or attachment to his person attracted to that insidious climate, convinced him of the necessity of educating a native clergy, or at least one composed of such as long and early acclimation might seem to ensure against being cut off in the midst of their usefulness. He attached also the utmost importance to what might be called the 'naturalisation' of Catholicity. He desired that it should no longer be regarded as the religion of the stranger; but that its ministers should be American in principle, feeling, and habit, familiarised by long experience with all the practical workings of our political system.

" With these views he founded a seminary. But how, in the destitution of pecuniary means, was it to be supported? His rapid observation detected the languishing state of rudimentary education. He incorporated a classical and scientific academy with his diocesan seminary, united in his own person the schoolmaster and doctor of divinity, and his embryo theologians were subsisted by the very means that consigned his father to a jail. He was emphatically the restorer of classical learning in Charleston.* His

* *Southern Review*, No. 1.

appeals excited direct interest in the subject among the most influential citizens. Sectarian jealousy was awakened, rival institutions were built up to preserve ingenuous youth from ‘the snares of Popery;’ and thus, whether ‘out of envy and contention’ or ‘for good will,’ a great public want was supplied. It remains to be felt by the wealthy planters who subscribed their thousands with unsparing hand to subvert the seminary that would long ere now have supplied their country with priests, whether they did wisely in retarding the progress of a religion which some of them are now beginning to appreciate as the only one to which they can entrust the fidelity and happiness of their slaves.

“ But the bishop’s comprehensive forecast was not limited to projects connected exclusively with his own immediate objects. He infused new life, by his energy, into the Philosophical and Literary Association, of which he continued till death an honoured and useful member, applying his unrivalled powers to instruct and please as happily to the subjects of scientific or critical contemplation, as to the more accustomed topics of his sacred calling ; but ever aiming to hallow his intellectual offering, and direct the attention of his delighted auditory, from the wonders of nature or the beautiful creations of mind, to the ‘Author of every good and perfect gift.’

“ He witnessed with grief and horror the Moloch ravages of that misnamed spirit of honour that so often carries desolation to the bosom of southern society, quenching in the blood of its

victim the hopes of an admiring country or of domestic affection. He rallied about him the chivalry of Carolina in an Anti-Duelling Society, of which General Thomas Pickney, of revolutionary fame, was the venerated president ; and, through his own personal activity, backed by the moral influence of that association, many hostile meetings were prevented, and valuable lives most probably preserved. I have listened to him, as with merry triumph and unsparing but playful ridicule, he has talked over, with a gallant officer, their counter manœuvres, on one most interesting occasion, and rejoiced over his opponent's baffled love of mischief.

"He found the Catholic body in America defenceless. The secular press was in the hands of persons so utterly enslaved by the delusion of that great conspiracy against truth, the history and literature of England for the last three centuries, that writers were often unconscious of giving offence while promulgating the most injurious misstatements or senseless absurdities. Of the journals professedly religious it is unnecessary to speak. He established the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, and found time, amidst his immense and various occupations, to supply its columns with a vast amount of original matter, not always, perhaps, as perfect in literary polish as if he had read over the blotted manuscript before it was hurried to the printer ; but always resistless in reasoning, charming by its fervid eloquence, overwhelming with its accumulated erudition. Many of those essays, which the importance of the

subjects discussed induced him to extend through a series of numbers, have been collected in such guise as poverty compelled them to wear—like the hero of the *Odyssey* in rags at the palace-gate, but a wider circulation will yet be given them, and future generations look with gratitude and delight on the fulfilment of the modest pledge that announced them to the world.”

The *Miscellany* was announced to contain—“ ‘The simple explanation and temperate maintenance of the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church ; in exhibiting which its conductors are led to hope that many sensible persons will be astonished at finding they have imputed to Catholics doctrines which the Catholic Church has formally condemned, and imagining they were contradicting Catholics, when they held Catholic doctrine themselves.’ ”*

For two-and-twenty years, Dr. England was spared to the Church in the South. In all these years he was the prime legislator of his order. He was the author of “the Provincial Councils” which assemble annually at Baltimore.† He was almost the first to give to Catholicity a literature and a *status* in the United States. His various writings on the doctrines of the Church, on the institution of slavery, on historical and philosophical subjects, fill five large volumes, which must ever remain among the most precious legacies of the American Church.

On the 11th of April, 1842, the bishop expired

* Reid’s Memoir in Dr. England’s Works, vol. i. pp. 12, 13.

† Ibid., p. 17.

at Charleston. The chief journals and statesmen of the South rendered spontaneous homage to his memory. All admitted that "the mighty man who had served the people" was fallen. Far and wide as the Church has extended since his death—distinguished as are many of its prelates at the time we write—there has not arisen his equal. Such men are not often given to earth and the earth should therefore be doubly careful of them while she has them.

During the life-time of Bishop England, the most painful circumstance occurred of the burning of the Convent, founded in 1820, by Bishop Fenwick, at Charleston, Massachussetts. New England, an uncongenial land for convents, had been shocked by the founding of a house of Ursulines in the near neighbourhood of Bunker's Hill. On Sunday, 10th August, 1834, Rev. Dr. Beecher delivered three philippics, in three different churches, against the institution—a course in which he had many imitators. Rumours were also artfully circulated of a young lady being immured in a dungeon of the convent. On Monday night, 11th August, tar barrels were lighted near the house by a group of incendiaries, who were soon joined by a tumultuous crowd from Charleston and Boston. The details of this burglary and sacrilege are set forth by a sub-committee of citizens of Boston (who gave several weeks to the investigation) in the following report :

"At the time of this attack upon the convent, there were within its walls about sixty female children and ten adults, one of whom was in the

last stages of pulmonary consumption, another suffering under convulsion fits, and the unhappy female who had been the immediate cause of the excitement was, by the agitation of the night, in raving delirium.

"No warning was given of the intended assault, nor could the miscreants by whom it was made have known whether their missiles might not kill or wound the helpless inmates of this devoted dwelling. Fortunately for them, cowardice prompted what mercy and manhood denied. After the first attack, the assailants paused awhile, from the fear that some secret force was concealed in the convent, or in ambush to surprise them; and in this interval the governess was enabled to secure the retreat of her little flock and terrified sisters into the garden. But before this was fully effected, the rioters, finding they had nothing but women and children to contend against, regained their courage, and, ere all the inmates could escape, entered the building.

"It appears that, during these proceedings, the magistrate above referred to, with another of the selectmen, had arrived, and entered the convent with the rioters, for the purpose, as they state, of assisting its inmates. The mob had now full possession of the house, and loud cries were heard for torches or lights. One of the magistrates in question availed himself of this cry to deter the rioters from firing the building, by stating that if lights were brought they might be detected.

"Three or four torches, which were, or pre-

cisely resembled, engine torches, were then brought up from the road ; and immediately upon their arrival the rioters proceeded into every room in the building, rifling every drawer, desk, and trunk which they found, and breaking up and destroying all the furniture, and casting much of it from the windows ; sacrificing, in their brutal fury, costly pianofortes and harps, and other valuable instruments, the little treasures of the children, abandoned in their hasty flight, and even the vessels and symbols of Christian worship.

" After having thus ransacked every room in the building, they proceeded, with great deliberation, about one o'clock, to make preparations for setting fire to it. For this purpose, broken furniture, books, curtains, and other combustible materials, were placed in the centre of several of the rooms ; and, as if in mockery of God as well as of man, the Bible was cast, with shouts of exultation, upon the pile first kindled ; and as upon this were subsequently thrown the vestments used in religious service, and the ornaments of the altar, these shouts and yells were repeated. Nor did they cease until the cross was wrenched from its place and cast into the flames, as the final triumph of this fiendlike enterprise.

" But the work of destruction did not end here. Soon after the convent was in flames, the rioters passed on to the library, or bishop's lodge, which stood near, and, after throwing the books and pictures from the windows, a prey to those without, fired that also.

" Some time afterwards, they proceeded to the farmhouse, formerly occupied as the convent, and first making a similar assault with stones and clubs upon the doors and windows, in order to ascertain whether they had anything to fear from persons within, the torches were deliberately applied to that building ; and, unwilling to have one object connected with the establishment to escape their fury, although the day had broken, and three buildings were then in flames, or reduced to ashes, the extensive barn, with its contents, was in like manner devoted to destruction. And, not content with all this, they burst open the tomb of the establishment, rifled it of the sacred vessels there deposited, wrested the plates from the coffins, and exposed to view the mouldering remains of their tenants."

This report is signed by Charles G. Loring, chairman, and by a committee of thirty-seven persons, including several eminent legal and political characters.

But it was not alone with the torch and the fagot that Bishop England's contemporaries were assailed. The pulpit and the press, for several successive years, were chiefly occupied with what for brevity we may call the great Catholic Controversy. Drs. O'Flaherty and Beecher at Boston ; Drs. Levens and Powers against Messrs. Brownlow and others at New York ; Messrs. Hughes and Breckenridge in Philadelphia ; Messrs. Purcell and Campbell in Cincinnati, debated very fully the great points in dispute between the Church and Protestantism. Much theological and histori-

cal learning was manifested on each side, but the defenders of Catholicity could afford to publish the arguments of their opponents and their own, a declaration of confidence in their own success which was not assumed on the other side.

In Philadelphia the controversy was perpetuated longest, and with least result of good. Some minor controvertists, indulging in sarcasm and calumny on the one side, called down retorts and philippics on the other. The imprudence, also, of certain naturalized citizens, and the proneness to faction in great cities, produced the scandalous riots of the year 1844 in that city, a subject which requires a separate chapter.

CHAPTER XVIII.

AMERICAN SYMPATHY FOR IRELAND—UNITED IRISHMEN—THE CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION MOVEMENT—IRISH JOURNALS—AGITATION FOR A “REPEAL OF THE UNION” WITH ENGLAND—INFLUENCE OF MR. O’CONNELL—THE ATTEMPTED REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT OF 1848—SYMPATHY WITH ITS PRINCIPLES.

A NATURAL consequence of the large emigration from Ireland to America was, that a deep interest continued to be felt in Irish affairs by the emigrants themselves, and all whom they could influence in this Republic. We have seen Benjamin Franklin, the father of American diplomacy, sanction such an intimacy so early as 1771, maintaining even then that America and Ireland had

a common interest in resisting the centralization of such vast political power in London.

“The United Irishmen” were the first organised American sympathisers in Irish political movements. They were strong enough to excite the attention of the then British minister, Sir Robert Liston, and their system was pleaded as a justification (after the fact) for the enactment of the Alien Law. No doubt, the courtesy shown by Rufus King to the imprisoned United Irishmen in England and Scotland, when they applied for passports, was inspired, in the first place, by the recollection that their American colleagues had been rather troublesome to the Adams administration.

When the Catholic Emancipation movement began to assume national proportions—between the years 1820 and 1830—various societies were formed in our large cities under the title of “Friends of Ireland.” In New York, Emmet, Macneven, Sampson, and the O’Connors, lent great importance to such an organisation ; in Philadelphia, the Binns and others ; in Boston, John W. James ; in Charleston, Bishop England ; in Savannah and Mobile it had active promoters ; in New Orleans, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Detroit, associations existed auxiliary to the Dublin association.

This sympathetic movement, as well as the peculiar wants of an increasing class, brought a number of Irish-American journals into existence. In 1822, Dr. England issued his *Catholic Miscellany* at Charleston ; in the same year Mr. Denman

issued his *Truth-Teller* at New York ; soon after, George Pepper, a native of Ardee, county Louth, started his *Irish Shield* at Philadelphia, which gave place to his *Literary and Catholic Sentinel*, published at Boston.

In Boston Mr. Pepper died. He was the first, I believe, to attempt any literary project exclusively for his emigrant countrymen. His "History of Ireland," though a poor performance, was useful in its day ; his papers were always stored with anecdote and biography. He was often scurrilous and sometimes fulsome ; but it was the time of the tomahawk, in literature as in war. He died poor, and sleeps in the side of Bunker's Hill. The gratitude of an after time placed a slab above his ashes, and the only shamrock in the churchyard, some years ago, was found growing on his grave.

In 1828, 1829, and 1830, when the Catholic spirit everywhere rose with the tidings of O'Connell's victory, the *Catholic Telegraph* in Cincinnati, the *Catholic Diary* in New York, and the *Jesuit* in Boston, were added to the journals intended for the Irish in America. The *Jesuit* became the *Pilot*, and the *Diary* the *Freeman's Journal*, under other proprietors.

The chief writers for this class of newspapers, besides occasional pieces by the clergy, were, in New York, Patrick Sarsfield Casserly, Rev. Dr. Leavins, and John Augustus Shea ; in Boston, Rev. Dr. O'Flaherty, Walter James Walsh, and others. In the other cities the journals were chiefly in clerical hands.

The standing topic of these journals being the

state and hopes of Ireland, it was a consequence that any cheering organisation in Ireland should produce a corresponding one here. Thus, in 1834, and still more in 1840, when Mr. O'Connell attempted the Repeal of the Legislative Union with England, auxiliary societies sprung up in every considerable city of the United States. In 1842, Mr. Robert Tyler, son of the President, joined the movement in Philadelphia, and in September, 1843, he presided over a Repeal Convention in New York. Delegates from thirteen states and one territory sat in that convention, which deliberated for three days on its own relations to the cause of Irish liberty. It adjourned, resolving to organise each State of the Union, and intending to come together again whenever the exigencies of the cause required it.

Large contributions of money were in this and the successive years forwarded to Ireland. Boston alone, in the first six months of 1844, remitted 10,000 dollars to the funds of the Irish society. Undivided confidence in the wisdom and power of Mr. O'Connell everywhere existed, and all the emigrant children of Ireland fondly believed they were soon to see their native island possessed of a senate, flag, and militia of her own. The total disappointment of their hopes, in this instance, would have driven any other people, for a generation at least, into despair.

In 1847 they ceased their contributions to the Repeal movement, but gave most generously to the support of the famishing. In 1848 the French and European revolutions seemed to offer a pros-

pect of a speedy cure for Ireland's woes. Up to this time "the Young Ireland party" (so called) had not attracted American sympathy, but no sooner did they move with the revolutionary momentum, than they found new and powerful friends in America.

This they had themselves expected. In the spring of that year they had arranged to send Thomas Francis Meagher as their agent to Ameria, but his premature arrest unfortunately defeated that purpose. Mr. William Mitchell was made their "bearer of despatches," and another gentleman, a substitute for Mr. Meagher, was soon after sent over.

The interest in America was intensely excited. Skilful officers and engineers volunteered their services; the rich and the poor, the stranger and the Celt, all contributed. Thousands of dollars were placed in the hands of the several local "Directories," and in many cases the donors did not wait to have their names recorded. Every European mail was watched for with intense anxiety, and the very streets were too small to contain the crowds that flocked from all quarters in quest of news. Grave dignitaries in church and state were infected with the prevailing enthusiasm, and contributed freely to the patriotic project. The New York Directory received, in a few weeks, over 40,000 dols. in cash, and the other states and cities of the Union would no doubt have done equally well.

It was evident enough if Ireland had taken and kept revolutionary ground for three months,

American officers and American gold would not be wanting.

It ended otherwise ; and dense snow-clouds of despair covered all the horizon of the Irish in America !

CHAPTER XIX.

THE IRISH FAMINES OF 1846-7-8 — AMERICAN SYMPATHY—MEETINGS IN PHILADELPHIA, BOSTON, AND NEW YORK—NATIONAL MEETING IN WASHINGTON—THE “MACEDONIAN” AND “JAMESTOWN”—REFLECTIONS.

THE most affecting event in the connexion of Ireland with America, is the conduct of the latter towards the victims of the Irish famine, which began in the winter of 1846 and 1847, and endured, in its worst forms, till the close of 1848.

The famine is to be thus accounted for :—The act of Union, in 1800, deprived Ireland of a native legislature. Her aristocracy emigrated to London. Her tariff expired in 1826, and, of course, was not renewed. Her merchants and manufacturers withdrew their capital from trade and invested it in land.* The land ! the land ! was the object of universal, illimitable competition. In the first twenty years of the century, the farmers, if rack-rented, had still the war prices. After the peace they had the monopoly of the English provision

* Between 1820 and 1830, two-thirds of all the manufactoryes in Ireland were closed and abandoned as ruinous investments.

and produce markets. But in 1846 Sir Robert Peel successfully struck at the old laws imposing duties on foreign corn, and let in Baltic wheat and American provisions of every kind to compete with and undersell the Irish rack-rented farmers.

High rents had produced hardness of heart in "the middleman," extravagance in the land-owner, and extreme poverty in the peasant. The Poor Law Commission of 1839 reported that 2,300,000 of the agricultural labourers of Ireland were "paupers;" that those immediately above the lowest rank were "the worst clad, worst fed, and worst lodged" peasantry in Europe. True, indeed! They were lodged in styes, clothed in rags, and fed on the poorest quality of potato.

Partial failures of this crop had taken place for a succession of seasons. So regularly did these failures occur, that William Cobbett and other skilful agriculturalists had foretold their final destruction years before. Still the crops of the summer of 1846 looked fair and sound to the eye. The dark green crispy leaves and yellow and purple blossoms of the potato fields were a cheerful feature in every landscape. By July, however, the terrible fact became but too certain. From every townland within the four seas tidings came to the capital that the people's food was blasted—utterly, hopelessly blasted. Incredulity gave way to panic, panic to demands on the imperial government to stop the export of grain, to establish public granaries, and to give the peasantry such reproductive employment as would enable them

to purchase food enough to keep soul and body together. By a report of the ordnance captain, Larcom, it appeared there were grain crops more than sufficient to support the whole population—a cereal harvest estimated at four hundred millions of dollars as prices were. But to all remonstrances, petitions, and proposals, the imperial economists had but one answer, “they could not interfere with the ordinary currents of trade.” O’Connell’s proposal, Lord George Bentinck’s, O’Brien’s, the proposals of the society called “The Irish Council,” all received the same answer. Fortunes were made and lost in gambling over this sudden trade in human subsistence, and ships laden to the gunwales sailed out of Irish ports while the charities of the world were coming in.

In August authentic cases of death by famine, with the verdict “starvation,” were reported. The first authentic case thrilled the country like an ill wind. From twos and threes they rose to tens, and in September such inquests were held, and the same sad verdict repeated twenty times in the day. Then Ireland, the hospitable among the nations, smitten with famine, deserted by her imperial masters, lifted up her voice and uttered that cry of awful anguish which shook the ends of the earth.

The Czar, the Sultan, and the Pope sent their roubles and their pauls. The Pasha of Egypt, the Shah of Persia, the Emperor of China, the Rajahs of India conspired to do for Ireland what her so-styled rulers refused to do—to keep her young and old people living in the land.

America did more in this work of mercy than all the rest of the world. On the 9th of November, 1846, a number of gentlemen assembled at the Globe Hotel, South Sixth-street, Philadelphia, convened by the following circular issued by the venerable Alderman Binns :

" In Ireland the men, women, and children at this time are everywhere, from the north to the south, and from the east to the west, falling victims to hunger and the diseases consequent upon hunger. The heart sickens in the knowledge that thousands of people, among the most hospitable on the earth, are perishing from famine ! . We are in a land abounding with food of all sorts, good and wholesome, for man and every creature that lives.

" It is thought to be the duty of this city, which has so often been among the foremost in works of mercy and charity, to do something for the famishing people of Ireland. What that something shall be, we do not undertake to say. To consider what is best to be done, and the best way of doing it, a meeting will be held in South Sixth-street, between Chestnut and Walnut-streets, at the Globe Hotel, on Thursday evening, at seven o'clock ; at that time and place you are requested to attend. As this meeting is intended to be select, and that business shall be entered upon at the hour proposed, you are requested to be punctual in your attendance."

" This is believed to have been the first meeting of a public character held in America on the subject of Irish relief."*

* Report of the Gen. Ex. Committee of Philadelphia, p. 5.

meeting followed, which was addressed by the most distinguished citizens, including Mayor Swift and Hon. Horace Binney, in favour of a general contribution throughout Pennsylvania.

Alderman Binns concluded a few apposite remarks with the following preamble and resolution, which were adopted unanimously :

“ In 1775, before these United States had existence—before her stars had lighted her to glory, or her stripes had been felt by her foes—before the voice of independence had been heard on her mountains, or the shouts of victory had echoed through her valleys—her statesmen and patriots assembled at their seat of government, in their future Hall of Independence, and, by a public address, made known to the world her grateful and affectionate sympathy and respect for the parliament and people of Ireland, kindly inviting her people to come and inhabit ‘ the fertile regions of America.’ Many thousands accepted the invitation, and by their toil and their sufferings, their sweat and their blood, assisted to make ‘ great, glorious, and free’ the country which had adopted them.

“ Since that invitation three-score-and-ten years have passed, and the United States have become a great nation ; her stars and stripes float freely over every sea ; she is a sure refuge—yea, a tower of strength for the oppressed of every clime, and her voice is respected among the mightiest powers of the earth ; but dark, deep, and general distress, with the gloom of night, overshadows unhappy Ireland ; her people perish under the pangs of

hunger, and are swept by pestilence ; they exist in shelterless cabins, with scant garments to cover them, and fall by thousands into unwept, too often uncovered graves. A knowledge of their miseries has crossed the Atlantic, and touched the hearts of the statesmen and patriots of the United States, and again they have assembled at their seat of government, and invited their fellow-citizens to meet in their cities, towns, and villages to consider, compassionate, and relieve the heart-broken, the famishing, the dying men, women, and children of Ireland. Therefore be it, and it hereby is,

“ *Resolved*—That the statesmen and patriots of ‘the low and humble and of the high and mighty’ States of America have, in the conduct stated, given illustrious examples to those of all nations of the earth, deserved the thanks of the people whom they have faithfully represented, and re-insured to them and to their country the heart-warm gratitude and renewed attachment of the people of Ireland.”

An influential city committee was organised. By May, 1847, they had received about 48,000 dollars in cash, and 20,000 dollars in articles suited for shipping. They loaded three barks and four brigs for various Irish ports, all which safely arrived. Munster and Connaught received the greater part. In their closing report, at the end of 1847, the committee, among other resolutions, passed the following :

“ While we gratefully acknowledge the services cordially rendered to us and to the cause of humanity by individuals in various parts of Penn-

sylvania and Ohio in particular, we feel ourselves called upon in an especial manner to make known our high sense of the very important assistance given to us by our esteemed friend and fellow-citizen, Allen Cuthbert. Not only have we had the free use of his warehouses for the deposit of bread-stuffs, but the benefit of his constant and anxious services and experience in receiving them from every quarter, and in shipping them to Ireland. Conduct such as this confers honour not only on himself but on the community of which he is a worthy member."

New York and Boston were not behind Philadelphia, nor the Everettts, Grinnells, and Lawrences behind the Cuthberts and Binneys.* In the spring of 1847 a national meeting was held at Washington, at which Mr. Dallas, Vice-President of the United States, took the chair. Mr. Webster, Mr. Cass, and other eminent senators spoke. The government placed two vessels of

* In his address on the subject, in Boston, Mr. Everett recalled a reminiscence of colonial times, which must have told powerfully on his audience. In the prosecution of the Narraganset war with King Philip, the Cape towns, in which were already some Irish families, contracted a heavy debt. The city of Dublin, being made aware of the condition of the settlers, remitted £124 10s. "for the relief of such as were impoverished, distressed, and in necessity from the war." (Pratt's Hist. of Eastham, Wellfleet, and Orleans. Yarmouth, 1844). Another writer adds: "The donation from Ireland is a gratifying proof of the generous influence of Christian sympathies, and is supposed to have been procured through the exertions of the Rev. Nathaniel Mather, at that time a minister of the Congregational denomination in Dublin."—*Ibid.*

war, the *Macedonian* and the *Jamestown*, at the disposal of the committee sitting in Boston and New York. Boston and New England, it is calculated, contributed nearly a quarter of a million of dollars, and New York city and state an equal amount. The Protestant as well as the Catholic pulpit resounded with appeals for "aid to Ireland." Sect and party were forgotten, and all-embracing Charity ruled the New World unopposed. America was even more blessed in the giving than Ireland was in receiving such assistance.

It was the noblest sight of the century, those ships of war, laden with life and manned by mercy, entering the Irish waters. England's flag drooped above the spoil she was stealing away from the famishing, as the American frigates passed hers, inward bound, deep with the charitable freights. Here were the ships of a state but seventy years old—a state without a consolidated treasury—a state but the other day a group of unconnected struggling colonies. And here, in the fulness of her heart and her harvest, she had come to feed the enslaved and enervated vassals of Victoria in the very presence of her throne. If public shame or sensibility could localise itself on any individual of so vile and vast a despotism, what must not that individual have felt!

Those who know what it requires to feed an army, may imagine that, abundant as was America's gift, it was not effectual to banish famine. Oh, no! tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, perished miserably. But it preserved many

thousands of precious lives, and gave an undying feeling of redemption to come to all who lived at that day in Ireland. The Central Relief Committees of Dublin and Cork accounted for the trusts committed to them. The "Irish Confederation" made national acknowledgment of Ireland's indebtedness to Mr. Dallas and to Captain Forbes of the *Jamestown*.* Many an Irish soldier on the battle-fields of Mexico did the like in deeds instead of words.

CHAPTER XX.

"NATIVE AMERICAN" MOVEMENT OF 1844—THE PHILADELPHIA RIOTS—THEIR PROBABLE ORIGIN—CONDUCT OF THE MILITARY AND MAGISTRATES—SIMILAR MOVEMENTS IN NEW YORK, BOSTON, AND OTHER TOWNS—RE-ACTION—REFLECTIONS ON THE PRINCIPLES INVOLVED IN THIS CONTROVERSY.

AN epoch in this history, which it would be culpable to pass over in parenthesis, is formed by "the Native American" organisation of the year 1844. In all our great seaports there has existed more or less, from the beginning of the Federal government, a feeling opposed to foreign emigration,—opposed, especially, to Irish Catholic emigration. This feeling has been manifested from

* It is a source of sincere satisfaction to the present writer that both addresses were prepared by him, and adopted by a committee of which Duffy, O'Brien, Meagher, and Mitchel were members.

time to time by fanatics of extreme Protestant opinions, by merchants and professional men of a pro-British bias, and by native workmen who have been brought into competition with, and frequently underbid by emigrant workmen. But the two latter sections, though much the more reasonable in their prejudice, have never been able to affect public sentiment with anything like the influence created by the ultra Protestant agitators.

Philadelphia city and its Liberties had long been the home of a religious controversy which reached its acme at the beginning of the year 1844. The Boston riots of 1834, the New York "school question" (as to whether the Protestant Scriptures should be used as a public school-book), the increase of emigration, had all been artfully seized upon by the local speculators in excitement, who hoped to fish up civic honours from the troubled waters of discord. During the first three months of the year the most inflammatory appeals were made to the passions of the Protestants of Philadelphia. A paper called the *Sun* became the daily organ of disturbance, and "an English Jew" named Levins, and others, the heads of the new association. The firemen and many of the military were ardent disciples of this school, whose avowed principles were—1. That no foreigner should be naturalized under a residence of twenty-one years. 2. That the Catholic religion was dangerous to the country. 3. That the Protestant Scriptures should be the foundation of all common school education.

On the 6th and 7th of May, Kensington and Southwark were the scenes of the first demonstrations against the Catholic churches and convents. Upon the former day a party of nativists had fired from an engine-house upon some Irish residents of Kensington, killing one and wounding others ; whereupon the friends of the attacked, in large numbers, issued out to capture the assailants.* These being reinforced, the riot became general, and amid the din the cry was raised, " To the Nunnery !" That building was soon dismantled, the nuns and orphans expelled with blows and curses, its sacred vessels shamefully defiled, and its many graves violated. St. Augustine's church was next attacked, and burned to the ground. In its tower the old clock of Independence Hall, which had struck the hour of independence, was consumed ; and all its sacred furniture was destroyed. One fragment of the wall alone remained, where, above the marks of the smoke and flame, might be seen for months the picture of an eye, with the words, " The Lord seeth." This was all that had been left of St. Augustine's. St. Michael's church shared the same fate, and for nearly a week the city was in the hands of the mob.

The military companies, the municipal officers, and the press (with one honourable exception†)

* Testimony of Clarke, Hague, Wood, Mathews, Fougeray, &c., native citizens of Philadelphia, before the City Grand Jury, 1844.

† J. S. Du Solle, editor of the Philadelphia *Spirit of the Times*, displayed, throughout the entire riot, a courage and

connived at outrage after outrage, until the indignant expressions of opinion from other cities seem to have roused the guardians of the law to a consciousness of their neglected duties. Sheriffs and generals apologised to the rioters for interfering with their projects, and induced them to postpone their riot and arson for a short interval.

The scene of the July riot was Southwark, on the other side of the city; but men were now in command of the military, who resolved not to temporize. A contemporaneous account runs thus:

"On Friday, the 5th inst., information was communicated by letter to the pastor of the church of St. Philip Neri, Southwark, that it would be attacked on that evening. Having already taken some measures of precaution, with the approbation of Major-General Patterson, and authority having been received from his Excellency the Governor to form a company for the protection of the church, some firearms were procured, and introduced into the basement in the afternoon. This was an occasion of a gathering of persons in front of the church, who industriously reported that a design on the lives of citizens was entertained. The sheriff was soon on the ground, and to remove all apprehension, took from the church the arms. A committee from the mob was allowed to search it thoroughly, and clear it of all firearms. The church, however, continued to be besieged by the mob, but no attack was made. On ability as admirable as they are rare in times of trial like these.

Saturday evening General Cadwallader attempted to disperse the mob, and, on their refusal, ordered the military to aim ; but Charles Naylor, the late Whig member of Congress from the third district, cried out, "*Don't fire!*" and the military did not fire. Mr. Naylor was put under arrest, and detained in the basement of the church until Sunday at eleven o'clock, A.M., when the mob, having obtained from a vessel lying at the wharf two pieces of ordnance, brought one piece to the front of the church, and with a battering ram beat down one of its doors, and carried away Mr. Naylor in triumph. The captain of the Montgomery Hibernia Greens, with a very small force, had been left in charge of the church and of the prisoners, about thirteen having been put under arrest, who were, however, discharged by the magistrates. A small body of the Markle and Mechanic Rifle companies were sent to his aid. The mob clamoured for the dismissal of the Montgomery Hibernia Greens, and promised to let them pass unmolested, threatening destruction if they continued to defend the church. Seeing themselves entirely unsupported, they consented to leave it, and came forth, not with reversed arms, as some papers have misstated. They had not proceeded far when the mob assailed them, and they defended themselves by firing as they retreated ; but, overpowered by numbers, they at length broke, each one seeking to save his own life. Robert Gallagher, a private, sought refuge in a house in Small-street, and was pursued and inhumanly beaten almost to death. The mob, with a battering-ram, broke down the

wall lately erected near the church, and forced an entrance into the church itself, which they desecrated, and attempted several times to fire.

"In the evening, about eight o'clock, General Cadwallader, with a part of the first division, arrived on the ground and got possession of the church. The mob soon got into collision with the military, some of them attempting to wrest the arms from them. By command of their officer they fired, and six or seven persons were killed. The mob rallied with desperate resolution, and used effectually their firearms, the military maintaining their position bravely. Cannon were employed on both sides, and a number killed and wounded—how many it is not known. Colonel Pleasenton was slightly wounded, and Captain R. K. Scott, commander of the Cadwallader Greys, dangerously, but, it is now hoped, not mortally. Sergeant Guier, of the Germantown Blues, was killed. Corporal Henry G. Troutman received a wound of which he has since died. The military took one or two pieces of ordnance from the rioters, and made a few arrests. On Monday the mob increased in number, and force, and violence, threatening to exterminate the military. The civil authorities of Southwark, fearing a desperate and bloody collision, requested the troops to be withdrawn, and expressed their confidence that peace would be restored. Some acts of violence were, however, committed on some Irishmen after the withdrawal of the troops. The governor arrived in the city, and issued a proclamation requiring all to be disarmed, unless those who re-

port themselves, and are authorised to preserve the peace."

The decided conduct of the authorities at Southwark put an end to the Philadelphia riots, and every attempt to "get up" similar demonstrations in New York and Boston signally failed. In the former city, the life of the Catholic bishop was threatened, and in the latter the office of the *Pilot* (then edited by the present writer) was placed under the formal protection of the city authorities. This was a very necessary step, since that journal was then the only one in the State which contains Mount Benedict which dared to defend the Church, or to stigmatize as they deserved the church-burglars and women-assaulters of Philadelphia.*

A political party, animated by the principles but rejecting the tactics of Kensington and Southwark, enjoyed a short success. In New York they elected Mr. James Harper mayor; in Boston, Mr. Davis; and in Philadelphia, Mr. Levins to Congress. Several public men, hitherto much respected, deceived by this hectic flush of victory, permitted them to use their names, among whom the adopted citizens saw, with deep pain, the names of Major-General Scott and Daniel Webster.

In 1845, they again succeeded in electing some

* The familiar phrase, "cowards and sons of cowards," was applied, at the time of the second series of Philadelphia riots to the nativist faction by the present writer. It occurs in a lengthy article in which he laboured to show that, instead of representing the Washingtons and Jeffersons of the past, as they claimed, that party represented the Arnolds, Deanes, and Hulls, if they had any American parentage—which was disputed.

civic officers in the same cities ; but in 1846 they utterly failed in their political design, and since then the party has dwindled down into a secret trades' combination.

A national party never could have been organised on that "platform." The West, that counts its growth by the shipful of emigrants crossing the Atlantic ; the labour-market, which would otherwise have no regulating medium ; the youth of the Continent, the justice of the Constitution, all protest against excluding emigration. To admit emigration, but prohibit naturalisation, is to admit the danger and cast away the protection. Whosoever wants to disarm foreign emigration of its anti-American tendencies, let him naturalise the emigrant. That is the only way in which he can effect his object.

The truth of this argument soon began to be felt, and for several years past no public man has been elected on "nativist" ground. The former candidates of that faction have paid for their fatal success by utter extinction, and even Mr. Levins no longer enjoys a seat in Congress or any other public position.

CHAPTER XXI.

SOUTH AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS—CO-OPERATION OF THE UNITED STATES—IRISH STAFF OF SIMON BOLIVAR — THE O'HIGGINSES — MACKENNA — O'CONNOR — O'CARRROLL — CAPTAIN ESMONDE — —O'REILLY THE O'BRIENS—ISSUE OF THE SOUTH AMERICAN STRUGGLE.

DURING the generation of whose good and evil actions we have been discoursing, a series of events transpired in South America which exercised a material influence over the Irish settlers at the north, and deserves to be mentioned in detail in this place :

The independence of South America dates from the year 1808, and its establishment from the year 1823, when the last of the Spanish forces evacuated Caraccas. That struggle of fifteen years was marked by events worthy of the pen of the greatest of historians.

The contest might be said to have three divisions—Bolivar's in Columbia, O'Higgins' in Chili, and that of the Argentine Republic on the Rio de la Plata.

Of the life and actions of Simon Bolivar, this is not the place to speak. We introduce his name here, as bringing with it that of many distinguished Irish soldiers, who were constantly by his side. Ireland felt a deep interest in his cause, and, in 1817, sent out her Irish brigade, under the com-

mand of General Devereux, a native of Wexford.* Bolivar seems to have reciprocated the partiality of that nation, his staff being in great part composed of Irish officers.

"The doctor who constantly attended him," says the English General Miller, "was Dr. Moore, an Irishman, who had followed the Liberator from Venezuela to Peru. He is a man of great skill in his profession, and devotedly attached to the person of the Liberator. Bolivar's first aide-de-camp, Colonel O'Leary, is a nephew of the celebrated Father O'Leary. In 1818, he embarked, at the age of seventeen, in the cause of South American independence, in which he has served with high distinction, having been present at almost every general action fought in Columbia, and has received several wounds. He has been often employed on diplomatic missions, and in charges of great responsibility, in which he has always acquitted himself with great ability.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Ferguson, already mentioned as a distinguished officer of rifles, was also an aide-de-camp. He too was an Irishman by birth. When a mere youth, he quitted a counting-house at Demerara, and joined the patriot standard. During the war of extermination, he was taken by the Spaniards. He was led, with several others, from a dungeon at La Guayra, for the purpose of being shot on the sea-shore. Having

* See Charles Phillips' Speech at the Farewell Dinner given to Devereux—Phillips' Speeches, *passim*. General Devereux, we believe, recently died, old and blind, near Nashville Tennessee.

only a pair of trowsers on, his fair skin was conspicuous amongst his unfortunate swarthy companions, and attracted the attention of the boat's crew of an English man-of-war, casually on the strand. One of the sailors ran up to him, and asked if he was an Englishman. Ferguson was too much absorbed by the horror of his situation to give an answer; but on the question being repeated, he replied, 'I am an Irishman.' 'I too am an Irishman,' said the sailor, 'and, by — no Spanish rascals shall murder a countryman of mine in daylight if I can help it!' Upon which he ran off to his officer, who interceded with the Spanish governor, and the life of Ferguson was saved. He related this incident to Miller, who has forgotten the name of the English man-of-war, and also that of the generous preserver of the gallant Ferguson. This unfortunate officer fell a sacrifice in the defence of Bolivar, on the night of the conspiracy at Bogota, in September, 1828. It is a matter of regret that we do not possess sufficient data to give that full biographical account of the above-named officers to which their merits and services so fully entitle them."*

In Chili, the Irish had been still more distinguished. Don Ambrosio O'Higgins, the last captain-general, had planted new trades and towns, opened canals, deepened rivers and harbours, and in a thousand other ways, promoted the interest of that province. His son, Don Bernardo, a native of Chili, inherited all his enterprise, and more than his patriotism, and, under him as

* Memoirs of Gen. Miller, vol. ii. pp. 233-4.

supreme director, Chili successfully struggled for its independence of Spain. The first four years of his command, assailed by force without and faction within, were the years of his trial and his glory. A fellow-soldier has recorded them in the vivid language of a witness :

" Colonel Don Bernardo O'Higgins, who, on the 24th of November, 1813, succeeded Carrera in the command of the army, had distinguished himself for personal courage and rectitude of conduct ; whilst the prudence and talents of Mackenna made up in some measure for the deficiency of discipline and want of organisation in the patriot forces.

" The independents were formed into two brigades ; one under O'Higgins in Concepcion, the other under Mackenna, at Membrillar, near Chillan.

" About this time the royalist cause was strengthened by a reinforcement from Lima, under the command of General Gainza, whose personal and professional qualities rendered him a formidable enemy ; but, in spite of these changes, almost a year passed without producing any important occurrence.

" On the 19th of March, 1814, Mackenna repulsed, at Membrillar, a sharp attack of General Gainza, who, on the following day, was again worsted by the corps of O'Higgins, hastening from Concepcion to the support of Mackenna.* Discouraged by these rencontres, Gainza left the

* This officer, a native of Ireland, was killed by one of the Carreras, in a duel fought at Buenos Ayres in 1814.

patriot brigades behind him, and marched towards the capital, an open city without a garrison. The movement was made under the supposition that O'Higgins would be unable to follow for want of horses. Gainza crossed the river Maule eighty leagues south of Santiago, and took the city of Talca, but not without an heroic, though unavailing opposition from a party of the inhabitants, who, unprovided with means of defence, perished in the vain attempt to preserve the town.

"The people of Santiago ascribed the loss of Talca to the negligence of the executive. It was therefore considered opportune to dissolve the governing junta of three persons, and to nominate a supreme director. Don Francisco Lastra was the first invested with that dignity. He hastily collected a small division, and sent it, under Don Manuel Blanco Ciceron, against the enemy; but that officer was totally defeated at Cancharayada by the vanguard of the royalists.

"In the mean while, O'Higgins prepared to follow Gainza, and by forced marches, made under great difficulties, arrived on the left bank of the river. He immediately bivouacked, as if it had been his intention to remain there for the purpose of watching the enemy's motions; but as soon as it became dark, he crossed the rapid Maule at several points a few miles above the Spanish posts, and, when morning broke, the astonished enemy beheld the patriot army in a strong position, which commanded the road to Santiago as well as that to Chillan, the centre of the royalist resources. The masterly passage of the Maule

may be considered as equivalent to a victory. General Gainza, cut off from retreating either way, was compelled to shut himself up in Talca.

"Don Jose Miguel and Don Luis Carrera had been set at liberty by the royalists in virtue of the treaty of Talca. Don Juan Jose had been banished across the Andes, but had returned. In May, 1814, a court martial was ordered to assemble, for the purpose of exhibiting (as was stated to the public) the bad conduct of the three brothers. Don Luis was arrested, but Don Jose Miguel and Don Juan Jose succeeded in concealing themselves. The present juncture was considered by them to be favourable to a new usurpation of the reins of government. They secretly organised in the capital a party with which they had never ceased to correspond, and which now assisted in carrying into execution their criminal designs. A part of the garrison having been gained over, the Carreras showed themselves on the 23rd August, 1814, and deposed the supreme director, Lastra.

"A junta was formed, and the elder Carrera placed himself at the head of it, as in the first usurpation. The indignant citizens, although much dissatisfied with Lastra, immediately assembled, and signified their extreme displeasure to the Carreras; but finding the latter deaf to remonstrances unsupported by the bayonet, they appealed for protection to O'Higgins, who lost no time in obeying the call. He marched from Talca, and a partial rencontre took place in the vicinity of Santiago. The rival parties were on the eve of a general action, when a messenger appeared from

the royalist general, and a suspension of arms was agreed upon to receive his despatches.

"The messenger was the bearer of an official letter, intimating that the viceroy had refused to ratify the treaty of Talca ; that the only measure left for the insurgent authorities to secure the royal clemency was by surrendering at discretion. The despatch concluded by the assurance that the sword was unsheathed in order not to leave one stone upon another in case of resistance.

"It also appeared that Gainza had been recalled to Peru, although he had some claims upon the consideration of a viceroy remarkable for his disregard of public faith towards the patriots, but who in other respects bore an honourable character. Gainza had violated the treaty by remaining, under various pretexts, in Concepcion, until General Osorio arrived with fresh troops and a supply of military stores of every kind ; and events ultimately proved that he had signed the treaty for no other purpose than that time might be gained for these reinforcements to arrive. The plan of the Spaniards was so well formed, that 4,000 troops were already within fifty leagues of the capital when the summons for unconditional submission was received.

"Agitated by conflicting feelings, O'Higgins magnanimously sacrificed his just resentments to save his country. He acceded to the demands of his rival, and nobly turned his arms against the common enemy. Carrera followed O'Higgins with a strong division ; but discipline no longer gave efficiency to soldiers who had often fought

gloriously ; desertion to an alarming extent prevailed. To consolidate his ill-acquired power, Carrera had weakened the army by removing some deserving officers, and had banished from the capital many distinguished citizens for no other reason than their discountenance of his arbitrary proceedings.

" O'Higgins encountered the royalist force on the bank of the river Cachapoal ; but, having only 900 men, was defeated, and he took shelter in the town of Rancagua, twenty-three leagues from Santiago. He caused the entrances of the streets to be blocked up, and made the place as difficult of access as his very slender means permitted.

" On the 1st of October, 1814, the royalists commenced an attack, which lasted for thirty-six hours, during which time the fire on both sides was kept up with unremitting vigour. Each party hoisted the black flag, and no quarter was given. In the hottest of the action, the magazine of the patriots exploded, and produced the most destructive effects ; but, undismayed by the heavy misfortune, their efforts seemed to redouble, and the Spanish general determined to abandon the enterprise. He had actually given orders to retreat, under the impression that Carrera, who had remained an unmoved spectator, would cut off his retreat, and that his exhausted royalists would be attacked in a disadvantageous position by that chief with fresh troops. But General Ordonez, the second in command, perceiving the inaction of Carrera, who evidently exhibited no intention to effect a diversion, or to send to O'Higgins the

smallest succour, determined upon making another grand effort. By means of the hatchet and the flames, the royalists penetrated through the walls of the houses, and at length fought their way, inch by inch, to the square in the centre of the town. Here O'Higgins made his last stand with 200 survivors, worn out with fatigue, tormented with raging thirst, and surrounded by heaps of slain ; till observing all was lost, he, although wounded in the leg, headed the brave relics of his party, and gallantly cut his way through the royalists. Such was the impression produced by this desperate act of valour, that none ventured to pursue the patriots, who continued their retreat without further molestation to the capital. The royalists remained in Rancagua to despatch the wounded, to butcher the few remaining inhabitants, and to destroy what had escaped the flames.

"The Carreras had still under their command 1,500 men ; but they abandoned the capital without a struggle. The depredations committed by the troops of the Carreras irritated the citizens to such a degree, that a deputation was sent to Osorio, to request him to enter Santiago and re-establish order. Six hundred troops crossed the Andes with Carrera. General O'Higgins emigrated with about 1,400 persons, many of whom were ladies of rank, who passed the snowy ridges of the Andes on foot. All were received at Mendoza with generous hospitality by General San Martin, and few returned home until after the battle of Chacabuco, in 1817."*

* Memoirs of Gen. Miller, vol. i. pp. 117, 119-20, 124.

Colonel O'Connor, son of Roger, and nephew of Arthur O'Connor, chief of the staff to San Martin, had raised a fine regiment at Panama, and embarked in the first attempt at Peruvian independence. He fought throughout the war, until the final battle of Ayachuco ended the struggle, by establishing the liberties of the colony. In that engagement he acted as adjutant-general, and contributed materially to the "crowning victory."

Colonel O'Carroll, another officer in the same service, after a distinguished career, perished at the hands of the guerilla, Benavides, who cut out the tongue of his captive before putting him to death.

Captain Esmonde, a native of Wexford, and an early adherent of the South American cause, captured and imprisoned in 1811 by the royalists, underwent various singular adventures.

"One of the authorities at Pisco, to whose charge the patriot prisoners had been consigned, was Don Francisco Algorte, who, in addition to the brutal tyranny which he exercised over the unfortunate prisoners, descended frequently to the cowardly violence of striking Esmonde upon the head with a cane. From this situation, more horrible than death to the mind of a gentlemanly and high-spirited officer, Esmonde was removed to the casemates of Callao, whence he was liberated by the kind interposition of Captain Shirreff, with whom, in compliance with the terms of his release, he returned to England.

"On the capture of Pisco, in 1821, by the

patriots, under the command of Miller, an estate of Algorte was, as belonging to a violent and uncompromising Spaniard, taken possession of, and subsequently confiscated.

"Algorte repaired to Lima, and, in the course of a few months, by well-directed presents, secured the support of some powerful friends, whose influence had nearly obtained from the protector the restoration of his estate. Nothing was wanting to complete his success but the report of Miller, upon a reference made to him, and which was necessary to legalise the restoration. To ensure his acquiescence, Algorte had recourse to a mutual friend, a rich Spanish merchant of the highest character. This gentleman, without venturing to enter into particulars, intimated that he was authorized to subscribe to *any* terms. An intimate friend of Miller's, an English merchant, was also employed, and who, in a jocose manner, hinted that, in the event of a favourable report, five or six thousand dollars might be accidentally found at the door of the colonel's apartments.

"Esmonde, who had fulfilled the conditions of his release, and returned to Peru, happened at this moment to be in Lima. To him, therefore, Miller, who had heard some reports of Algorte's treatment of the prisoners, referred for their correctness, without mentioning, either then or afterwards, the motive for his enquiries. Esmonde simply recounted the conduct of Algorte towards himself and his fellow-prisoners. The result may be anticipated. Miller's report was imme-

dimately forwarded, and Algorte's estate irrecoverably lost.

"Captain Esmonde was afterwards employed by the Peruvian government to examine and report upon the possibility of making canals near Tarapaca. The vessel on board of which he embarked having never been heard of, is supposed to have foundered at sea."*

On the royalist side, the only Irishman of note was General O'Reilly, taken prisoner by Saurey on his march from Canta to Pisco, in 1820. He was allowed to return to Spain, but so afflicted by his defeat, that he is "supposed to have thrown himself overboard, as he was drowned at sea."

In the service of Buenos Ayres, beside Colonel M'Kenna, already mentioned, Captain O'Brien, of the first Argentine ship-of-war, and Colonel, now General O'Brien, of the army, were early distinguished. The former lost his life early in the contest, but the latter survived to prove himself worthy of almost every civil and military trust in the gift of his adopted country. After rising from rank to rank during the war, he was successively minister of Venezuela at London, and chief of the Venezuelan Republic. He still survives.

Such were some of the services to liberty which made the Irish name illustrious in South America, and revived the passion for military glory in the hearts of the Irish settlers of the northern confederation.

* Memoirs of General Miller, vol. i. pp. 2 4-5.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE IRISH IN MEXICO—SAN PATRICIO COUNTY—
M'GEE'S INCURSION—ANNEXATION OF TEXAS—
WAR WITH MEXICO—TAYLOR'S CAMPAIGNS—MAJOR-
GENERAL BUTLER—COLONEL O'BRIEN—COLONEL
M'KEE—MAJOR GORMAN.

WHILE Irish soldiers were so actively engaged in the South American revolutions, men of the same origin were about to introduce the mixed northern race into the possessions of Mexico, and to take the first steps in that onward aggressive march which has placed the flag of "the Union" on the headlands of the Pacific.

Under its first presidents the Republic of Mexico, anxious to encourage emigration, had given a large tract of country between the rivers Neuces and Rio Grande to an Irish colony. In 1820 a considerable Irish population had settled there, and their grant was known as "the County of San Patricio." This county became afterwards a party in asserting and maintaining Texian independence of Mexico.*

In 1812, when the early attempts at revolutionising the Spanish colonies bordering the Gulf were made—when Fray Hidalgo, the last Mexican

* It was represented in the "Texian Consultation" of 1835 by Messrs. M'Mullen and Powell. It continued a Texian county until it was depopulated in the late Amorico-Mexican war, being the theatre of some of its severest battles. That part of the original tract now included in the state of Texas is called "Neuces County."—*Debate on the Texian Boundary in Congress*, 8th August, 1850.

chief of his generation, had been publicly executed, "a young man named M'Gee, who had been a lieutenant in the United States service, after resigning for the purpose," raised the standard of independence on the Sabine and Trinity rivers. With about 400 United States recruits, chiefly riflemen, and an equal force of Spanish under one Bernardo, he crossed the Sabine. He "took Nacodoches, then marched to and took La Bahia, where, with his 400, he withstood a siege of three months, the American riflemen making such havoc among the Spanish soldiers, in their occasional sorties, that their commander was compelled to raise the siege and retire to San Antonio. M'Gee, in the meantime, died, not more than twenty-two years of age."* For his time he had something to show!

The American and friendly Texian force continued in arms for over twelve months in the heart of the country; they took San Antonio, defeated General Elisondo at the head of 1,600 men, and were in turn defeated by the recreancy of Manchaco, one of their native allies, and an overwhelming force under Arredondo.

The proximity of Texas to the United States of course attracted to it the adventurous spirits of the Mississippi valley. This attraction did not cease with Mexican independence, established in 1821, through the patriotism of Iturbide, and the moderating influence of O'Donoju, the last captain-general of Mexico.-

* "Mexican Letters," by Judge Brenckenridge (written in 1846-7).

While Mexico was forming her new boundaries, the United States had frequently proposed, through her ministers, to obtain the Rio Bravo del Norte as the boundary between the two republics. Mr. Poinsett, in 1825, and Mr. Butler in 1827, proposed to purchase up to this definitive frontier in vain.

Under the presidency of Santa Anna in 1832, Texas declared against the then administration, and for the Federal constitution of 1824. An armed force was sent to seize the local authorities and disarm the inhabitants. The settlers, a majority of whom were from the valley of the Mississippi, resisted ; conflicts ensued ; and finally Texas raised its separate flag, and in 1836, by the victory of San Jacinto, established its separate sovereignty.* In 1837 its independence was acknowledged by the United States, France, and England ; and, even in that year, General Jackson in his message suggested the probability of its future admission into the Union. The Mexican and American ministers respectively demanded their passports, and left the capitals to which they were accredited ; and so the seeds of quarrel were deposited in two willing soils.

In 1840 a commission to settle the disputes of the two republics was agreed on ; but in 1842 it terminated, leaving untouched the Mexican claim of sovereignty over Texas. In 1843, Mr. Tyler

* General Houston, the hero of the Texian revolution, has personally mentioned to me his Irish descent, paternally, and Scotch, maternally. His life will be the most American of books whenever it is worthily written.

being President, the annexation of Texas was much discussed, and finally looked on as an administration measure. Mr. Webster and Mr. Upshur, successively Secretaries of State, prepared the way for it ; and notwithstanding the protest of Mexico, Mr. Calhoun, their successor, in April, 1844, signed the treaty of annexation with the Texian commissioners at Washington.

Mexico, never having acknowledged the separate sovereignty of Texas, could not see her pass bodily over to the Republic of the North without resistance. She had repeatedly protested in the most impressive accents of diplomacy ; and when the act of annexation was known to be under consideration at Washington, she avowed that she would look on its completion "as a declaration of war."* Both countries, pending the treaty, were increasing their military forces, and it was evident a collision or a total retrogression in policy would take place. On the 3rd of March, 1845, Congress confirmed Mr. Calhoun's negotiation, and Texas became a State of the Union ; on the 10th the Mexican minister obtained his passports ; in July Texas formally accepted her admission with the conditions ; on the 25th of July eight companies of United States troops moved towards the Texian (now become the United States) boundary, while soon after General Taylor made his head-quarters at Corpus Christi. In March of 1846, after wasting the winter in Slidell's negotiation, Taylor was ordered to take up his

* Executive doc., No. 2. House of Representatives—twenty-ninth Congress.

march to the Rio Grande, with about 3,000 men of all arms ; and Arista, by his government, to cross the Rio Bravo, with thrice the number, and drive the Americans back. In April the first blood was shed, Colonel Cross being assassinated, and Lieutenant Porter's party, in quest of him, cut to pieces. And now the war in reality begins.

In this, "the third great war" of the Union, Texas, as being immediately involved, and the Southern States, were likely to play the earliest part ; but the quarrel was a national one, and we shall soon find that nearly every State in the Union supplied its contingent to the roll of the dead, and the list of the successful. We shall find, too, many striking instances of the usefulness of the Irish race in an era of action such as this was.

Scott, Taylor, Worth, Wool, and Perry, are purely American reputations ; but though they are the most brilliant of the war, there are others, also, worthy of honourable remembrance.

In the early battles (Taylor's), we find the Rangers under Gillespie, Hays, Conner, and M'Culloch, playing an ubiquitous part. As scouting and foraging parties, as covering movements of artillery and infantry, in regular engagements and in street fighting, mounted or dismounted, there is no battle without them. The names of the several officers indicate their paternity.

When General Taylor's force was sufficiently augmented, by arrivals of volunteers and some additional regulars, to take the offensive (after the victories of the 8th and 9th of May, 1846),

we begin to find the officers of other corps distinguishing themselves. The capture of Matamoras and Monterey, and the battle of Buena Vista, have associated the names of Butler and O'Brien of the regular army, and Gorman* (Indiana) and M'Kee (Kentucky), with some of the most memorable passages at arms in the annals of America.

William O. Butler, of Kentucky, the grandson of an Irish emigrant, was trained in the Florida war in the camp of Jackson. As major-general he served with Taylor, superseded Scott, and, on the conclusion of peace, conducted the American forces back to their country. In 1848, he was the candidate of the Democratic party for Vice-President, with Lewis Cass for President.

O'Brien, whom death has removed in the midst of peace, is mentioned by Taylor for his efficient direction of his battery at Buena Vista. He was brevetted major for his conduct upon that field. He was born in Philadelphia of Irish parents, and educated at West Point. Besides his military services he is entitled to remembrance for his compilation, "O'Brien's Military Law of the United States," the standard work of its class, and one likely to remain so. He was a practically pious man, and none the worse soldier for that. He died of cholera in Texas, on the 30th of March, 1850, being but little beyond thirty years of age.

Colonel M'Kee, of the Kentucky Volunteers, did not survive the deadly conflict of Buena Vista.

* At present (1851), we believe, a member of Congress from Indiana.

Descended of one of the early pioneers of that State, he gallantly upheld its character for daring courage. With his fellow-statesman, Clay, he fell before the hour of victory, but not until he had done his share to secure it to his own side.

We must now trace quickly over the campaigns of Scott, and see what men of marked distinction were there of Irish origin or birth.

CHAPTER XXIII.

SCOTT'S CAMPAIGNS—COLONEL RILEY—BRILLIANT CHARGE OF KEARNEY AND MACREYNOLDS' DRAGOONS—BRIGADIER-GENERAL SHIELDS—HIS RECEPTION ON RETURNING TO THE UNITED STATES—SENATOR FOR ILLINOIS.

IN November, 1846, Major-General Scott, Commander-in-chief of the United States army, was despatched to Mexico, with orders to besiege Vera Cruz, and endeavour to penetrate from that city, by a direct route, to the Mexican capital.

In this brilliant expedition, of which the successive steps were Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, Puebla, Contreras, Churubusco, Chepultepec, and Mexico, many noble deeds of arms and fine combinations of skill were exhibited.

One of Scott's most efficient officers was Colonel, since General Riley, a native of Baltimore of Irish parentage, and an old volunteer in the war of 1812. In every action of the war he was distinguished, and no promotion was considered by the soldiers of the war more justly deserved. Under

General Riley, the territory of California was organised and prepared for admission into the Union in 1850.

Among the other officers of Scott's army were many of Irish origin, as Brigadier Patterson of Pennsylvania, Captains Lee of the engineers, Casey of the regular infantry, and Magruder of the artillery, Lieutenant Neal, and many others.

Major MacReynolds of the dragoons, a lawyer long settled in Michigan, was distinguished wherever cavalry had ground to operate on. A contemporary biographer writes of him : " Mr. MacReynolds, a native of Dungannon, Co. Tyrone, came to this country when a youth of eighteen, and has, we believe, since then, resided in Detroit, Michigan. To the Legislature of that State he has been several times elected, and in it he has occupied a highly honourable position. He was a member of the Michigan Senate when the war with Mexico broke out, and immediately tendered his services to the government. The President promptly gave him a captain's commission in the dragoons, and the gallant discharge of his duties in that position has won for him enduring honours. The assault of Kearney's and MacReynolds' dragoons on the bloody field of Churubusco, was one of the most daring and brilliant deeds of heroism among the many proud instances of valour which have shed such undying lustre on the American arms in the history of the Mexican war."

The commanding-general of the division thus speaks of this charge in his official report :— " Captain MacReynolds', 3rd Dragoons, nobly sus-

tained the daring movements of his squadron commander, and was wounded in his left arm. Both of these fine companies sustained severe losses in their rank and file also. We are informed that the enemy numbered, by their own report, 5,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry, while our dragoons did not exceed 100. This small force drove the Mexicans upwards of two miles, and ceased not until they were within the battery that covered the gate of the city. In this charge, the dragoons cut down more than their entire number of the enemy. When we consider the extraordinary disparity in point of numbers, and the raking position of the enemy's battery, into the very mouth of which our brave dragoons fearlessly threw themselves, we think we may safely say it has no parallel in modern warfare."

The same village in which Major MacReynolds was born also gave birth to James Shields. Both families are Milesian Irish, old as the hills, in Ulster. Under the Celtic Pentarchy, the O'Shield's were the standard-bearers of the north—an office of special honour and trust in those military ages.

While a mere boy, James Shields emigrated to this country, and, while still in his teens, served as second lieutenant of volunteers in the Florida war. In the long years of peace which succeeded he did not abandon military studies, and, though he held an important civil employment in the department for Indian Affairs, he at once volunteered into the war with Mexico. On the 1st of July,

1846, he was appointed brigadier-general, and joined the division under General Wool. With that officer he shared the famous march through Chihuahua and New Mexico to Monterey, from whence he was detached to the army under Scott, then before Vera Cruz.

"But the military talents of General Shields were first fully developed at Cerro Gordo. In the general orders of April 17th, he was entrusted with the care of the Jalapa road, in order to keep the enemy in that quarter engaged during the main attack, and to cut off retreat. In both these objects he was successful. By his activity he contributed largely to the victory of that memorable day, and elicited the admiration of both General Scott and his brother officers. In the pursuit, he received a musket ball through the lungs, by which he was immediately prostrated, the command devolving on Colonel Baker. His life was for a while despaired of, but eventually, to the astonishment of all, he recovered.

"During the long stay of the army at Puebla we hear little of General Shields; but he again appears amid the toils and dangers of the march towards the capital. Late on the 19th of August, while the storming of Contreras was in progress, he was sent to a village near that fort, in order to afford assistance to General Smith. A deep, rugged ravine, along whose bed rolled a rapid stream, was passed with great difficulty in consequence of the increasing darkness; after which, the general ordered his weary troops to lie upon their arms until midnight, in order to prepare for

further duty. In the mean while, he threw out two strong pickets, who, perceiving a body of Mexican infantry moving through the fields toward the city, opened a sharp fire, and succeeded in driving them back. At midnight, Shields' troops resumed their march, and soon joined Smith's brigade at the place appointed.

"At this time, General Shields performed an action so delicate and magnanimous as to deserve record with the more dazzling ones which were soon to follow. Previous to his arrival, Smith had completed those judicious arrangements for turning and surprising the Mexican position which were afterwards so brilliantly successful. As Shields was the senior officer, he could have assumed the command as well as the execution of General Smith's plans, thus debarring that officer from the fruit of his labour. But this he nobly refused to do, and withdrew his men to the position formerly occupied by his brother veteran.

About daybreak, the Mexicans opened a brisk fire of grape and round shot upon the church and village where the general was stationed, as also upon a part of the troops displayed to divert him on his right and front. This continued until Colonel Riley's brigade opened its fire from the rear, which was delivered with such terrible effect, that the whole Mexican force was thrown into consternation.

"At this juncture, Shields ordered the two regiments of his command to throw themselves on the main road by which the enemy must retire, so as to intercept and cut off their retreat.

Although officers and men had suffered severely during the night's march, as well as from exposure, without shelter or cover, to the incessant rain until daybreak, this movement was executed in good order and with rapidity. Crossing a deep ravine, the Palmetto regiment deployed on both sides of the road, and opened a most destructive fire upon the mingled masses of infantry and cavalry; and the New York regiment, brought into line lower down, and on the road-side, delivered its fire with a like effect. At this point many of the enemy were killed and wounded, some 365 captured, including twenty-five officers.

" Meanwhile the enemy's cavalry, about 3,000 strong, which had been threatening the village during the morning, moved down towards it in good order, as if to attack. General Shields immediately recalled the infantry, so as to place them in a position for meeting the threatened movement; but the cavalry soon changed its position, and retreated toward the capital. Orders now arrived from General Twiggs for the troops to advance by the main road toward Mexico; and accordingly, having posted Captain Marshall's company of South Carolina volunteers and Captain Taylor's New York volunteers in charge of the wounded and prisoners, Shields moved off with the remainder of his force, and reached the position of those divisions already moving on the main road.

" After turning the village of Coyoacan, Shields moved with his command toward the right, through a heavy cornfield, and gained an open and swampy

plain, in which is situated the hacienda de los Partales. On arriving there, he established his right upon a point recommended by Captain Lee, an engineer officer of great skill and judgment, at the same time commencing a movement to the left, so as to flank the enemy's right, and throw his troops between them and the city. Finding, however, their right supported by a body of cavalry 3,000 strong, and perceiving that the enemy answered to his own movements by a corresponding one toward the American right flank, and, owing to the advantages of the ground, gaining rapidly upon him, he withdrew his men to the hacienda for the purpose of attacking the enemy in front. The conflict was close and stubborn, until General Shields, taking advantage of a slight wavering in the Mexican ranks, ordered a charge. This was obeyed with alacrity and success, the enemy breaking and flying on all sides. Shields continued to press upon the fugitives, until passed by Colonel Harney with his cavalry, who followed the routed foe into the very gates of the city.

"On the 10th of September, General Shields, with the New York and South Carolina regiments, was ordered first to Piedad, and subsequently to Tacubaya, preparatory to the assault upon Chapultepec. Here he continued a heavy cannonade upon the enemy's lines until early on the morning of the 13th, when his command moved to the assault. While directing the advance, Shields was severely wounded in the arm, yet no persuasion could induce him to leave his command or quit the field. In company with the remainder of

Quitman's division, he pushed rapidly forward along the Belen road, exposed to the most tremendous fires, overthrowing one after another of the Mexican strongholds, until finally his victorious banners were planted over the principal gateway. When night fell, he was carried from the field sick, exhausted, and writhing with pain. His wound, although severe, was, happily, not mortal ; and rest, together with careful attention, united with a strong constitution, speedily restored him to health."

On his return to the United States, the general was everywhere welcomed with enthusiasm. Alabama came out with all her dignitaries to meet him ; South Carolina presented him with a magnificent sword ; and Illinois, proud of her adopted son, elected him to the Senate of the United States.

In the short session of 1850-1, General Shields, from the committee on military affairs, reported in favour of conferring the rank of lieutenant-general on Scott, which was adopted. Strange chance of fortune ! that he whom Scott mourned dead on the field of battle, should live to present him the title hitherto worn in war only by Washington.*

* A recent visitor at Washington thus describes him : " I found the general seated among his papers—a spare man of middle size, and apparently about forty years of age, with the amber tinge of health on his cheeks, an eye like a live coal, large brows, and a fine head. I felt an electrical thrill pass through me, as I took the hand of the first soldier of our race, not excepting Cavaignac or Guyon. I believe I stared at him rather rudely, for I was anxious

Of the conduct of the non-commissioned officers and men of Irish birth during the war, both Taylor and Scott have spoken in the highest terms of praise. Their eulogiums are too recent to need repeating.

"Although the attempts to conclude a treaty of peace immediately after the battle of Churubusco had not been successful, yet, in concert with the commander-in-chief, Mr. Polk lost no opportunity to repeat his overtures for so desirable an object. It was not, however, until the beginning of the following year that the Mexicans would listen to such proposals. Their army was then reduced to a few insignificant parties scattered here and there, more for safety than any hope of opposition to the invaders. Even the guerillas manifested symptoms of weariness. Accordingly, when, in January, 1848, General Scott laid before the Mexican Congress articles of a treaty based upon those formerly rejected, that body immediately to detect whether his constitution had recovered from the terrible results of his Mexican wounds. I was satisfied by the scrutiny, and it will give joy to many an Irish heart to know that in all probability the general has as many years as any man of his age yet to come. I shall not here commit the indecency of printing private conversations, but I may say that the more I heard of General Shields' opinions, the more he rose in my estimation. He is a very thoroughly read man, with a very reflective turn of mind. He has thought much on all subjects and countries. He speaks French as fluently as English, and during my first call held a long Spanish conversation with a Mexican general, Herrera, who, he observed, had been 'in the same war with him, but not on the same side.'"

appointed Luis G. Cuevas, Bernardo Conto, and Miguel Atristain as commissioners. These gentlemen, with Mr. Trist, acting on behalf of the United States, assembled at Guadalupe Hidalgo, and concluded a treaty of ‘peace, friendship, limits, and settlement’ between the two republics.

“The only thing still necessary to the conclusion of the war was the ratification of the new treaty by the legislature of each country. In February the attested copy was received at Washington by President Polk, and transmitted to the United States Senate. After being slightly amended, it was passed in that body on the 10th of March by a large majority. Mr. Sevier was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to present it for ratification to the Mexican Congress. In company with Mr. Clifford, he soon arrived at Queretaro, where the national legislature was sitting, and laid before that body the corrected copy for their final action. It passed through both houses by a large majority, and was received with marked satisfaction by the Mexican people.

“By this instrument, the boundary line between the two republics was made to begin at the mouth of the Rio Grande, ascending the middle of that river to the southern boundary of New Mexico; thence westerly, along the whole southern boundary of New Mexico to its western termination; thence northward, along the western line of New Mexico, to the first branch of the river Gila; thence down the middle of this branch and river to its junction with the Colorado; thence between Upper

and Lower California to the Pacific. It secured to the United States the vast territories of New Mexico, California, Western Texas, and the Pacific coast, together with the fine harbour of San Francisco, and the internal navigation of the Colorado, Gila, and other rivers. Fifteen millions of dollars were to be paid to Mexico by the United States as compensation for part of this grant.

" By an article of the treaty, arrangements had been made for withdrawing all the United States troops from the Mexican territory within three months after the final ratifications, provided it could be effected before the commencement of the sickly season. In furtherance of this provision, the most active preparations immediately commenced for marching different portions of the army from the capital and interior towns to Vera Cruz, whither they were to embark for New Orleans. Previous to this, General Scott had left Mexico to attend a court of inquiry appointed by government to investigate reciprocal charges between himself and Generals Worth and Pillow. The duty of superintending the evacuation of the capital, and subsequent embarkation from Vera Cruz, devolved upon the temporary general-in-chief, Major-General Butler. In the early part of June, the greater part of the soldiers in the city of Mexico marched for Vera Cruz, under the supervision of Mr. Sevier. They left the latter city by detachments, reached New Orleans about the middle of June, and thence proceeded, by steam-boat or railway, towards their respective homes. Nothing can exceed the enthusiasm with which

these toil-worn veterans were hailed, as they entered, regiment by regiment, into the cities from which, two years before, they had marched to the scene of strife. Business was suspended, the population rushed to meet them, military and civic processions attended their march, banquets were spread, addresses delivered, and presents bestowed on them throughout their route. Thus closed, after a duration of two years, the Mexican War."

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE CENSUS OF 1850—IRISH CONTINGENT TO THE POPULATION OF THE UNION—CHARACTER OF FORMER IRISH EMIGRATIONS—THE POLITICAL REFUGEES OF 1848—FATHER MATHEW'S VISIT—MILITARY COMPANIES—POSITION AND REQUIREMENTS OF THE IRISH IN AMERICA, A.D. 1851.

THE decennial census just taken seems likely, when digested, to show a total population of nearly 25,000,000 in the Union, including an Irish contingent of some 4,000,000 at the close of the year 1850.

If we are to estimate the influence of this element in the composition of American character, we must not only take its past success on this continent, but the achievements of its emigrants in Europe and South America into consideration. Especially should we consider their agency of antagonism in the British system.

Edmund Spenser, whose work on Ireland dis-

plays many reflections of wonderful originality, gives expression to this very thought. He says he has often thought that Ireland was reserved to be a judgment on England, and that by *her* hand England would be humbled.

For 700 years the Almighty, for his own ends, has kept those two islands in a state of warfare and hostility—England influencing Ireland, and Ireland controlling England. Richard the Second's Irish wars produced the wars of “the Roses,” which occupied England a century. Bruce, beaten and banished from his own country, finds a shelter in Ireland, and returns from Rathlin to conquer at Bannockburn. Henry VIII. becomes a reformer and king of Ireland, and it costs his daughter £20,000,000, and, it is said, a broken heart, to subdue the northern chiefs. Ireland fights for the Stuarts who robbed her, and goes into exile, as if for the express purpose of meeting and routing the armies of Britain at Fontenoy and Dettingen. The Irish emigrate to America, and help to take this continent from England in 1775, as they now help to keep it anti-British in temper and policy.

Is it too much to expect this result from such an element in the great Republic? Before you say “Yes,” remember the work of our exiles, performed in one generation, when they turned their steps not to the New World beyond the ocean, but to the shores of the Mediterranean.

They were either students in search of schools or soldiers in search of fighting. The former reckoned on the bourses founded by professors

and D.D.'s from home ; and the soldiers, poor fellows, counted on the countenance of those who were gone before them to get them something to do ! Both classes worked hard, and both won fame and rank. It is easier to follow the soldier class, who left their mark wherever they went.

Of these, two became Marshals of France* (Sarsfield and O'Brien) ; two Marshals of Austria (Kavanagh and Prince Nugent) ; five Grandees of Spain (O'Sullivan, Lawless, Gardiner, O'Reilly, and O'Donnell) ; two Marshals in Russia (Lacy and Browne).

Of general officers it would be hard to muster the lists. The Irish governors of important posts are more easily enumerated. One Browne was Governor of Deva, for Austria ; another Governor-General of Livonia for Russia ; Count Thomond was Commander at Languedoc ; Lally was Governor of Pondicherry ; one Kavanagh was Governor of Prague ; another of Buda ; O'Dwyer was Commander of Belgrade ; Lacy of Riga ; and Lawless, Governor of Majorca.

Of the civil offices attained by these emigrants, we find that Kavanagh, Baron Linditz, and Count Nugent, were Aulic Councillors ; Marshal Maurice

* Since the publication of the present work in America, at least two soldiers of Irish name and descent have become Marshals, and risen to the very pinnacle of military fame in France—namely, Marshal Patrick MacMahon, Duke of Magenta, Governor-General of Algeria ; and Marshal Niel, Minister of War to the Emperor, whose recent premature death, occurring as it did at a particular crisis, was regarded in France as a national calamity.—*Ed. Irish Edition.*

Kavanagh was Chamberlain of Poland; Colonel Harold, Chamberlain of Bavaria; Sutton, Count of Clonard, Governor of the Dauphin in France; the Marquis M'Mahon was one of the first French agents to these States, for which service he received the badge of the Revolutionary Order of Cincinnatus from Washington, and the French Order of St. Louis from Louis XVI.; Patrick Lawless, Ambassador from Spain to France; Dominick O'Daly, Ambassador from Portugal to France; and Nugent, Minister of Austria at Berlin; and Clarke, Duke de Feltre, Minister of War in France.

In Spanish America, the Captains-General O'Higgins of Chili, O'Donoju of Mexico, and O'Donnell of Cuba; the Supreme Director O'Higgins; the Generals O'Riley, O'Brien, and Devereux; the Colonels M'Kenna, O'Leary, O'Connor, and O'Carroll, were all men of one generation—all Irishmen by birth or parentage.

To North America, within seventy years, we have contributed 10 majors-general, 5 commodores, a president, 2 vice-presidents, 6 authors of the Constitution, 9 signers of the Declaration, upwards of 20 generals of brigade, and an immense amount of minor officers, and rank and file to the army.* Considering that till yesterday all education was limited to a caste in Ireland;

* This computation is exclusive, of course, of the very large number of Irish officers of all ranks, who subsequently left an imperishable record of fame in connexion with some of the most brilliant exploits of the late disastrous Civil War.—*Ed. Irish Edition.*

considering how the individual is oppressed in the defeat of his nation ; considering the more fortunate lot of the self-governing countries, with whose native sons our emigrants have had to compete in the old world and the new, the achievements of her exiles are a glory and a promise precious to Ireland.

but It seems wonderful that so many mere Irishmen, in the same century, should force themselves by dint of service into so many important posts in such old countries, and over the heads of so many native rivals. They all emigrated poor—their land, if they inherited any, being confiscated. They had, as it were, to beg their education—literary and military—and to serve long and hazardous probations before they attracted the attention of kings. Still, that they did rise, and that they kept the vantage-ground they gained, is apparent as the day.

The Irish emigrants of to-day are the kith and kin of these men of history ; and we think there are causes working for them which will produce results not unworthy of the past.

The arrival of a number of educated men of their own nation to settle among them is one such cause. Chiefly barristers and journalists, if they remain true to the cause of their race (as there is no reason, in any instance, to doubt), they may exercise an immense influence for good over the general fortunes.*

* Of the political refugees of 1848, the great bulk are settled in New York city. There are some, however, in several other states and cities.

The visit of Father Mathew to this country is another source of hope for us. That unwearied preacher of temperance has visited all the districts where the Irish emigrants abound, and in less than two years has pledged over 300,000 persons to live sober and peaceful lives.

What a life his has been! Unlike too many modern reformers, who insist on their theories with all the heat of proselytism, and utterly neglect the details of good, his lips have not grown white in theorizing, but in exhorting and blessing multitudes, individual by individual. Those of whom society and the laws despair, who are often considered as hopelessly beyond the Christian pale, for these he has, hoping and toiling, worn his life away. Truly may it be said of him, as Grattan said of Kirwan, "in feeding the lamp of charity, he exhausted the lamp of life."

Next to intemperance, ignorance is the emigrant's worst foe. From ignorance, faction, quarrels, partisanship, losses innumerable flow. To found adult schools, circulating libraries, and debating rooms; to make good use of our newspaper press; to prepare cheap and suitable books for a neglected people; these are the solemn obligations resting upon the educated and wealthy of our Irish-American citizens.

Every Celt has an inherent taste for rhetoric and the arts. Witness the long array of poets, artists, and orators, produced even in these latter days of our provincialism. To elevate, purify, and direct wisely these natural tastes, should be the main purpose of all the educational institutions we may create.

The profession of arms has also a natural attraction for this race. In old Ireland, every man was a soldier, but in modern Ireland, England punishes the study of arms as she does felony. We must revive the taste for tactics wherever, on this continent, there are a hundred of us together.

There are men enough ambitious of command in every city. But, to command, it is necessary to learn ; to learn slowly, patiently, practically ; to learn through years of service, as the young draper Ney, and the drummer boy Bernadotte, learned how to be marshals, and to stand next to Napoleon ; to learn to command themselves first, and others after ; to learn self-control, quick thinking, and ready action ; to learn to discriminate wheat men from chaff men—to discover an officer among the privates, and to lift him up to his rank without exciting ill-will in others. In a word, the policy of military life is as essential as the policy of civil life ; and men in field and camp, city and congress, are, after all, made of the same identical stuff, and subject to the same kindred defects and passions.

It is said, Irishmen will not serve under Irish officers, though they will under English, French, or American. What is the inference ? That the fault is in the Irish officers, not in the men. If it is not to the service, or to officers as officers, they object, it must be to the particular character of this particular class. If we look long at it, we find that where an Irish captain or colonel is just, firm, and friendly with his men, they obey

him as any other officer. In the Mexican war, no Irish soldier but was proud to follow General Shields. Wherever the officer is not obeyed or respected, the explanation will be found to be, that he, not the men, are to blame.

We have now throughout the United States some twenty-five or thirty Irish companies. We have drilled men enough scattered through the militia to make as many more. There are, perhaps, in the several States, 50,000 natives of Ireland who have some smattering of military discipline. In New York city we have an Irish regiment, whose captains refute the imputation that Irish officers are not suited to command Irish soldiers.

To such officers, especially, some degree of military science is essential. No army, no regiment, can be manœuvred without science. England has her Woolwich and other academies; France, her Polytechnique and other military schools; Russia has 200,000 students of military science in her schools of war. Even republican and anti-standing-army America has its West Point. Various works on tactics are easily had in this country, and ought to be had; for it is not marching men through open streets, or defiling by a newspaper office, or presiding over a target excursion, that can alone make good officers. In these things, the merest popinjay might excel General Scott. But it is the reading military books, the study of the lives of generals and guerillas, of Washington and Marion, Wellington and Zumalacaregui, that will make an officer in

the highest sense of the term. The officers of every Irish company will, we hope, have a small library of such books, well thumbed over.

We desire to see the military spirit of our ancestors revive and flourish among the Irish in America, because it will swallow faction—because we now want, and will more and more want, all the practical science, military, mechanical, and political, we can attain.*

Against the encroachments of landlordism it is necessary also to warn those who live in crowded communities. As no people have suffered from that terrible social despotism so much as ours, so none should resist its spread so resolutely. Every Irish emigrant should consider it the test^{*} of his manhood to have a house—altogether his own.

The frequent reading of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution under which we live, is also a duty. We cannot be good citizens, or wise electors, unless we refresh our principles at these fountains of American law and liberty. It is unnecessary to urge on our emigrants the importance of going through the forms of naturalisation.

It might be improper to refer, in this place, to the most important of all topics—religion. Our emigrants have the benefit of the teachings of an increasing and improving priesthood, who will not suffer them to forget their spiritual obligations.

* Oliver Byrne of New York, the distinguished engineer and mathematician, has done more than any other man in this country to infuse into his emigrant countrymen a military spirit.

These wants of character being supplied, our emigrants, as a class, have but one thing more to overcome on this continent—British influence. For, disguise it as men may, that influence, whether exercised through laws, commerce, or books, is fundamentally hostile to all who bear the Irish name, apostates excepted.

The successive British governments never *would* study the Irish nature, and hence never *could* govern it. They despised our history, and insisted on it that the caricatures of cockney imagination were true portraits of Irish character. They shipped us laws ready made, and punished us because we were not patient with the mis-fit. The key to all Ireland's modern wars, sorrows, and agitations is, that those who had the power to shape her destiny never had the conscience to study her capabilities.

We must resist every semblance of such conduct on the part of the public men and thinkers on this continent. Every attempt to caricature or proscribe, every effort to exalt the Anglo-Saxon over the other races here undergoing solution, we must resist with reason, argument, and, if need be, with well-used suffrages.

All the more generous natures will be easily convinced that it is not a worthy course to judge the vanquished out of the victor's mouth—that, if Ireland has done her part on this soil, she deserves her history to be read here, her genius to be studied, and her national character to be respected. With such men, who compose, perhaps, a majority of this whole people, arguments such as these would generally be found availing:

" There is no observation more true than that men are the creatures of circumstance. Individual men are, perhaps, less so than nations. Nations are the creatures of their own geography, their history, and their imaginations. In this Union the idea of sovereignty is the extent of the state. When the individual measures himself against the continent, he feels its sovereign supremacy. In England the seat of sovereignty is in the sea. In France the unity of the provinces is the monarchy of all.

" The Irish, also, who settle in America, are creatures of their own antecedents. The Atlantic works no miracle on them. They come to these shores, the production of British power. Disfranchised in their native land, the suffrage is a novelty to them ; disarmed, the use of arms is a possession not understood ; ruled by a class, they abhor the very semblance of class legislation ; untrained to freedom, they make but a poor figure at first as freemen.

" The tendency of all class legislation is to obliterate in men the double sense of their rights and their duties. Deny their rights, and you destroy their duties ; for rights and duties are two sides of the same medal, and the people that are jealous of their rights must necessarily be true to their duties.

" The naturalised citizen will not only have to cast off his British allegiance, but also to get rid of his British education. The effects of laws are known to remain after the laws have been long abolished ; and it is of these enervating, humbling,

debasing effects the emigrant from Ireland has to rid himself.

"In this good work of transition from subjection to citizenship, the natives of free America should be the sponsors and catechists. Being themselves free, nothing is left for them so glorious to do as to impart their freedom to others.

"It is not worthy of this great nation to take its political philosophy at second-hand from any nation. England has endeavoured to misrepresent America to Europe, and Europe to America. She tries to be the international intelligencer. She holds up contrary mirrors to opposite states, in which each shows to disadvantage in the eyes of the other. She 'speaks with a double-tongue contradictory languages.' It will not do to trust her as the interpreter of nations, still less as the limner of her own vanquished provinces.

"Whether we may wish it or not, one-half of Ireland is here. We grieve that these laborious and obedient men were not possessed of a land of their own; you may regret that they possess already too much of yours. But whether we would alter it or not, they are here. Here, by the immediate action of British misrule, here by the primal authority of man's first charter—'Go forth, and fill the earth and subdue it.' We live in a world of facts, and this is one of its greatest. How, then, shall we deal with this great human force so placed at our disposal? Shall we, who do not suffer the obscurest stream to escape unused to the ocean, disregard what is of infinitely more value—the right use and direction of this moral

Niagara, emigration ? Physically, our emigrants are well-worked ; nor do we underrate their value in that view. But are they not also of use as moral agents ? Have they not memory, will, and reason ? Have they not imagination, wit, and the desire to please and excel ? Are we, democrats of the model republic, to regard men as machines, and to count them by the head, like cattle, rather than by souls, like Christians ?

" Oh, believe me, American reader, ours are a people very teachable by those they love. Deal tenderly with their failings, they are a fallen race. Do not pander to their party prejudices, but appeal to their common sense and love of fair play. Do not make the weak, weaker, and the dependent, more dependent ; but endeavour to fit them for equality as well as liberty, so that the land may rejoice and be secure in the multitude of its well-instructed children."

“ What constitutes a State ?

Not high-raised battlements, or laboured mound,
Thick walls, or moated gate ;
Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crowned,
Not bays, and broad-armed ports,
Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride ;
Nor starred and spangled courts,
Where low-browed baseness wafts perfumes to pride.

No. MEN, HIGH-MINDED MEN.

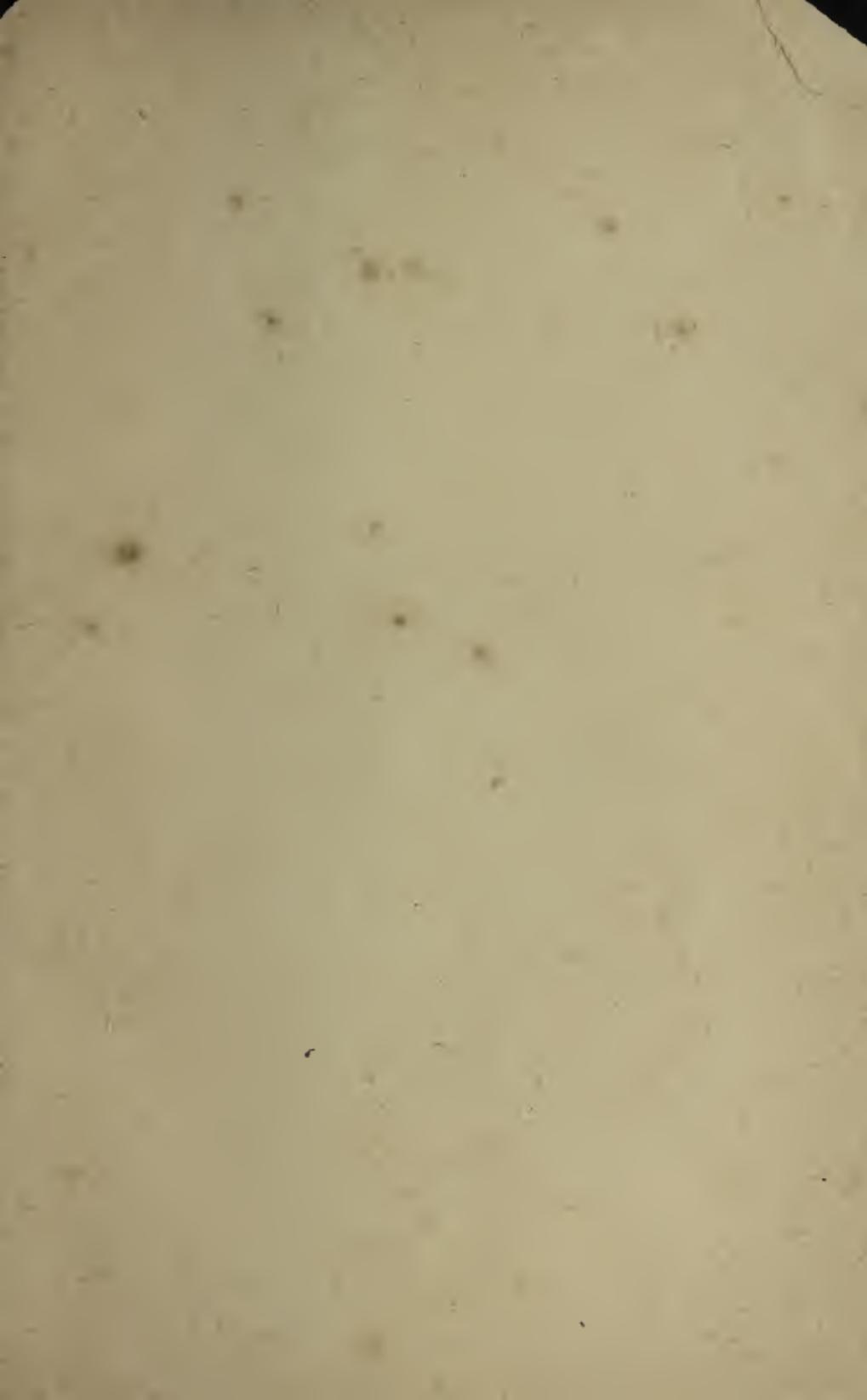
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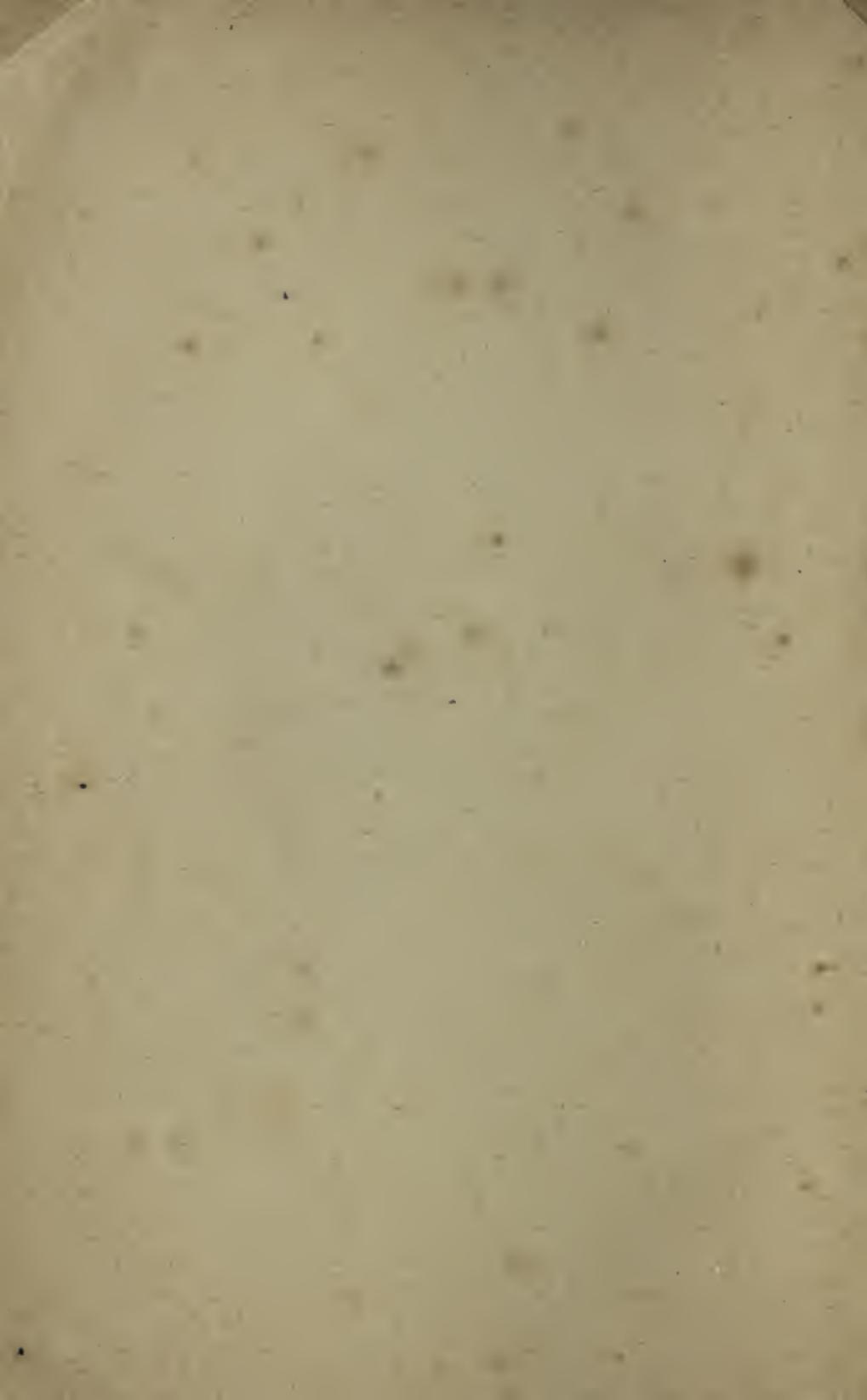
Men who their duties know,
But know their rights ; and knowing dare maintain ;
Prevent the long-aimed blow,
And crush the tyrant, while they rend the chain."

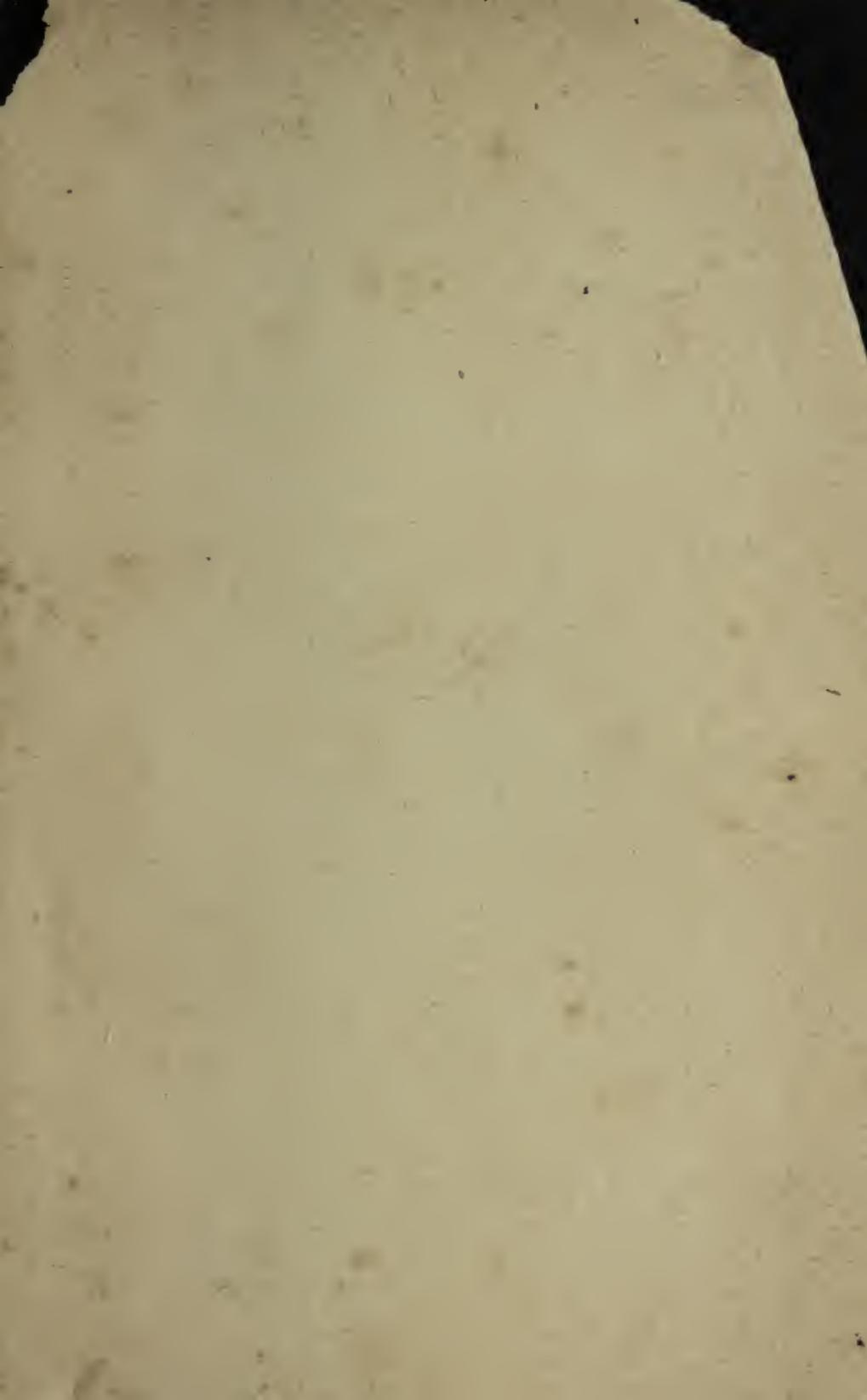
Such a presentation of the case of the recent emigrant, addressed to individuals or societies in

America, could not long be made in vain. British prejudices would fade before it, and while the Irish would become more American on the disappearance of that hostile influence, America in temperament and policy would become insensibly more Irish.

No people—not even the natives of New England—have a greater interest in the preservation of the Union than the Celts in America. What we never got from England we have here—equal laws and equal justice. And now if, as seems the fact, our ancient and implacable enemy, through the agencies of corruption and flattery, seeks to undermine this Union—our refuge, liberation, and relief—the Irish in America, as a mass, as one man, must choose their place under the Constitution. The Union gives us homes, suffrages, and wages; the Union gives us peace, plenty, and equality; the Union protects our altars, confers our lands, accepts our services in peace and war, and educates our children. The Union abolished the local persecutions of the Puritans and the Huguenot in Maryland and Massachusetts. The Union burns no convents, sacks no graves, outrages no rite of religion, nor does it insult any of its sacred teachers. By the Union, therefore, we, too, “stand or fall, survive or perish,” and, with Andrew Jackson, our motto as American settlers is, “THE UNION—IT MUST BE PRESERVED.”







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